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Li Hung-chang and the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company

by

Chin Pai-nien (靳柏年)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 7, July 14, 1976)*

China's shipbuilding industry has developed rapidly since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The sailing of 10,000-ton steamships to the oceans has pronounced total bankruptcy on the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace and the slavish comprador philosophy peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This reminds us of the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company (Chao Shang Chü 轮船招商局, hereafter the "Company" for short) run by Li Hung-chang a century ago, because Li, a modern slavish comprador, mirrors Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the ugly slavish comprador of contemporary times.

Li Hung-chang was head of the Yangwu /Westernizing/ group whose slogan for the Westernization movement was "self-strengthening" and "seeking wealth." However, if one only takes a look at this "Company," it will not be difficult to see what kind of stuff was this "self-strengthening" and "seeking wealth" mouthed by them.

The "Company" was not a manufacturer of ships but a ship joint-stock company engaged in the shipping business. Since the Opium War, the foreign capitalists seized the exclusive rights of China's coastal and inland river shipping, with the American firm Shewan Tomes and the British firms Butterfield & Swire and Jardine Matheson completely controlling China's shipping business. In some years, freight charges per ton for a return trip from Shanghai to Wuhan were as high as 40 taels of silver. Li Hung-chang was very envious of this. According to his "Yangwu" logic, for "self-strengthening," it was necessary to develop an armament industry; to develop industry it was necessary to "import" Western technology and equipment for manufacturing guns and cannon; to "import" these things it was necessary to have money, to "seek wealth." Thus the shipping business appeared to provide an excellent opportunity to "seek wealth." Moreover, the Chinese merchants had both a definite amount of capital and an interest in shipping. So Li Hung-chang designed a formula -- "operation by merchants under government supervision," with the Ch'ing Government offering to raise the share capital. To the more than 470,000 taels of silver raised as share capital from merchants was added more than 1,300,000 taels appropriated from government funds. The "Company" was inaugurated in December 1872.

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* More articles of this issue will appear in SPRCM No. 884.

From first to last the "Company" actively pursued Li Hung-chang's policy "building ships is no better than buying ships." In 1872, it purchased from England at a high price three ships -- I-tun (Eton), Fu-hsing (Lucky Star) and Yung-ch'ing (Forever Clear). In 1877, again at Li Hung-chang's bidding, it purchased from Shewna Tomes Steamship Company 18 ships and some docking and warehouse equipment. These constituted the basic assets of the "Company." At one time the "Company" owned as many as 33 ships. With the exception of eight small ships transferred from the Foochow Maritime Bureau (福州船政局) to serve as a facade, the rest of the ships were foreign vessels purchased from abroad. These ships, as even Li Hung-chang himself had to admit, were mostly junk which "have fallen into disrepair for years." They were not only purchased at a high price, but their life-span was short. After they were used for a number of years they were either converted into lighters or dismantled, their engines "to be fitted into other ships." Li Hung-chang explained this away by saying: "Although the various ships of the Shanghai Bureau were made by us, the great bulks of materials were purchased from abroad, and manufacturing was carried out under the direction of foreign engineers. This was generally similar to buying foreign ships." Although this was a pretext to defend Li Hung-chang's "building ships is no better than buying ships" policy, it precisely exposed the truth of the Yangwu movement. Take the Foochow Maritime Bureau operated by the Yangwu group for example. In the six years from 1868 when it was set up to 1874, it built a total of 15 ships. All of the engines and equipment used were bought from France through the Frenchman Jih-i-ko (日意格), General Superintendent of the Maritime Bureau. These engines and equipment were old and worn but their prices were exorbitantly high. Whereas the estimated expenditure was put at 3 million taels, the actual expenditure amounted to as much as more than 5 million taels. The "general similarity" between building ships and buying ships, as explained by Li Hung-chang, indicated that, under the line of national betrayal and capitulationism of the Yangwu movement, what was meant by "building ships" was only that some foreign engineers and engines were "imported" for assembly in China. This naturally was not so simple as "importing" entire ships from abroad. To put it bluntly, the Chinese economy was to be tied to the belts of foreign capitalists.

With foreign vessels acquired, naturally foreigners had to be hired to drive them. "Hiring foreign experts at whatever cost" was a personnel policy laid down by Li Hung-chang for the "Company." In the "Company," "captions, chief officers, second officers, chief engineers and second engineers were all foreigners." It became a world of foreigners. These "foreign experts" who were "hired at high costs" were mostly without real knowledge and knew only how to bluff and cheat. They "took either to gambling and playing with prostitutes or to alcohol and were very lazy. But they did not take their duties on board ships seriously." Eton overturned and sank during a storm at Taku, and Lucky Star collided with a British ship at Heishuiyang and sank, but what was most serious was that two ships were sunk in a matter of five days. In the 17 years after 1877, a total of nine ships were involved in accidents, accounting for over one-fourth of the total number of ships under the "Company." However, Li Hung-chang still treated these pseudo experts as gods. Instead of tracing the

responsibility, he continued to offer them high salaries. Even the general supervisors of warehouses were foreigners given high salaries. In 1893 it was disclosed: "The foreigner Harris of the Northern Warehouse in Shanghai was a greedy man but was ignorant of the warehousing business. He did whatever he pleased. In past years 300,000 dollars used to be collected from warehouse leasing annually, but last year only 30,000 dollars were collected." Where did the money go? Didn't it still go to the pocket of the foreign general supervisor?

Having blind faith in foreign experts was bound to downgrade the seamen of one's own country. Although Li Hung-chang also established a number of seamen's schools and said "the military, political and maritime administration was vital to the country's security," in his mind the Chinese could not be compared with foreigners in everything. Foreign ships were better, and so were foreign technicians. Chinese technicians were not good and since "their quality was low," they were not to be enlisted by the "Company" to drive ships and operate the engines. When graduates of the Wusung Merchant Steamship School went on board the ships of the "Company" to take up practice, they were discriminated against and criticized in every respect and eventually were told to leave. By 1908, none of the 175 captions and machinists of the "Company" was Chinese. Admiring foreigners and having blind faith in things foreign blocked the road to the training of China's navigators.

Who was "strengthened" and who was "enriched" by Li Hung-chang's pushing this line of national betrayal and capitulation? The purchase of 18 ships from the American firm Shewan Tomes was a case in point. To buy these ships, the "Company" paid a high price of 2,220,000 taels of silver. But Li Hung-chang described the deal as the "best deal in a thousand years," and said that for the "Company" this was "the beginning of turning from weak to strong." He was indeed highly jubilant. As a matter of fact, these ships were about to be consigned to mothballs after they had been used by Shewan Tomes for many years. When they came across Li Hung-chang, this "worshipper of foreign things," they extorted a bargain price. Some people at the time said that for Shewan Tomes to sell these obsolete ships was like "discarding a worn-out dress, selling it at a high price and using the proceeds to make a fine new dress." After the "Company" bought them, some of the ships were basically unserviceable. Two were converted into lighters and another two were dismantled and their engines taken off for future use. Li Hung-chang used the cash generated from the sweat and blood of the Chinese people to buy this heap of scrap metal to line the pockets of foreign capitalists, and yet he had the effrontery to brag about them. How shamelessly he had stooped to a degree "unheard of for a thousand years."

When the "Company" ran into cash problems in buying a large number of foreign ships, it had no alternative but to borrow from foreign capitalists. In 1877 it borrowed 1,200,000 taels of silver at one time in buying Shewan Tomes' ships. Coupled with loans borrowed in previous years, total outstanding debts amounted to 4,032,000 taels, equivalent to five and a half

times its paid-up capital that year, which was 750,000 taels. In 1885, it borrowed from the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation 300,000 pounds, equivalent to 1,180,318 taels as estimated by the Shanghai Customs. By the last year of the Ch'ing Dynasty foreign debts incurred by the "Company" totalled more than 4,600,000 taels, considerably exceeding the total amount of its capital. Of course, the foreign capitalists did not lend their money to others for nothing. Subsequently, all the facilities, buildings and docks of the general office and 14 branch offices of the "Company" and all its ships and freight revenues became collateral for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. According to the agreement, if payment of loan interests by the "Company" was overdue for 15 days, the Bank had the right to auction off or rent the secured property of the "Company." In reality, the "Company" was already in the bag for imperialism.

Despite this, the foreign capitalists still used a thousand and one means to edge out the "Company." When the "Company" was first established, Li Hung-chang wanted to engage in overseas shipping to earn some foreign exchange. But how could the foreign capitalists allow him to have a finger in the pie? In 1879, s.s. "Hochung" of the "Company" had trial runs to Honolulu, San Francisco and other places. It was unreasonably detained by the US customs and a huge sum was extorted from it. This so frightened Li Hung-chang that he did not dare to send ships overseas anymore. As regards domestic shipping, the two British firms, Butterfield & Swire and Jardine, joined hands in forcing the "Company" out of business by the method of lowering their freight charges. In these circumstances Li Hung-chang once cried aloud for "boycott of foreign vessels," but that was only an inconsequential struggle between the master and the lackey. The result of the "boycott" was that Li Hung-chang signed a traitor's "uniform-price contract" with these two foreign firms, as a way to survival being sandwiched between two giants by auctioning off China's navigational sovereignty. According to this contract, the three parties, the "Company," Butterfield & Swire and Jardine jointly set uniform freight charges on the main routes. As between the three parties, it provided for fixed ratios in the distribution of cargoes, freight revenues, the number of ships and tonnage. The "Company" was not allowed to take any unilateral action. In case of disputes, these had to be "decided on by a board of foreign merchants." Besides, it provided that the three parties were to deal with other steamship companies operating on the same route by the method of jointly lowering freight charges. According to this contract, the foreign bigwigs became the hegemonic lords of China's inland river and coastal shipping. The "Company" had no power to arrange its own business. Steamship companies financed by Chinese national capital since lost the possibility of operating along the Yangtze River and the coasts. After the contract was signed, not only was the "Company" "manipulated by foreign merchants," but the number of its ships was reduced. On the other hand, ships under Jardine and Butterfield & Swire increased in number by many times. In 1877, the "Company" had 33 ships, with total tonnage amounting to more than 23,900 tons; Butterfield & Swire had only five ships, with total tonnage estimated at more than 8,300 tons. By 1893, the "Company" reduced the number of its ships to 26, with total tonnage at more than 23,200 tons, while Butterfield & Swire increased the number of its ships to 29, with total

tonnage at over 35,000 tons. By the end of the 19th century, besides Butterfield & Swire and Jardine, four more imperialist steamship companies intruded into our Yangtze shipping line. On the Chinese side, no new steamship company appeared. No wonder that even those who were more closely related to Li Hung-chang also condemned him for concluding the "uniform-price contract" which, they charged, "can only repress Chinese merchants but cannot curb foreign intrusions." They accused him of "ruining their own kind and sailing in the opposite direction." Even the slavish comprador and traitor Sheng Hsüan-huai, who lavished the highest praise on the "uniform-price contract," could not but admit: "Now the 'Company' has suffered on the Yangtze, Foochow, Ningpo (lines)." "On the Yangtze line, Jardine has indeed captured 70 percent of the 'Company's' business in recent years." These were bitter remarks directed at the refusal of the master to give his lackeys sufficient leftover, yet they also sufficed to show from one facet the detestable features of Li Hung-chang and members of the Yangwu group practicing national betrayal and capitulation.

As can be seen from this typical example, the "Company," what the line of national betrayal and capitulation pushed by Li Hung-chang during the Yangwu movement brought to modern China was neither "wealth" nor "strength." Instead, it pushed China step by step into the chasm of deep sufferings of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Today, the Chinese people have already stood up. Although the name of Li Hung-chang had long ago been nailed to history's post of shame, his soul is still hovering around. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, is a fanatic pursuer of Li Hung-chang's slavish comprador philosophy. If we yield to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, such sinister specimens of slavish comprador philosophy as the "Company" will re-appear on Chinese soil. We must take class struggle as the key link and win still greater victories in the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

* * *

Struggle against Capitulationism and Separatism in the Late T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo Period

by

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Kiangsu

(Li-shih Yen-ch'iu /Historical Research/, No. 2, February 20, 1976)

The revolutionay faction of the T'ai-p'ing as represented by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan had from beginning to end struggled relentlessly and valiantly to maintain the peasant revolutionary line. The lofty quality of the unbending and firm revolutionary resolve of the peasant revolutionaries can be seen especially in the anti-capitulationist and anti-separatist struggles of the later stages. Studying this period of history to see how the peasant insurgent forces responded to difficulties and privations, how they struggled to overcome crises and strengthen revolutionary dictatorship and thus to draw beneficial lessons from such study will allow us to better sort out the capitulationists of today, to oppose and prevent revisionism, and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I

1858 was a difficult year, during which the T'ai-p'ing faced unprecedentedly serious trials. The anti-revolutionary coup of Wei Ch'ang-hui and the separatist attempt of Shih Ta-k'ai nullified the gains won by the T'ai-p'ing army on the battlefield, weakened the unity of the revolutionary ranks, and destroyed the favorable conditions of the revolution. The Ch'ing armies, having gotten a breathing spell, in December 1857 took Chenchiang, a strategic spot in the eastern battleground for the T'ai-p'ing. They advanced to re-encircle the Heavenly capital /Nanking/. On the western front, the Ch'ing armies successively took Wuch'ang, occupied Chiuchiang and captured Chian, seizing towns and gaining territory with tremendous and haughty force. In the spring of 1858 the executioner Tseng Kuo-fan said with unbridled optimism, "There is no cause to worry that /T'ai-p'ing/ will not be put down this year."* At the same time, the foreign aggressors also progressively shed their false coverings and joined with the Ch'ing monarchy in strangling the revolution.

Meanwhile, even though Hung Hsiu-ch'üan led the masses of soldiers and people in quelling the rebellion of Wei Ch'ang-hui and initially stabilized the political situation after the separatist attempt of Shih Ta-k'ai, the struggle between the two lines within the revolutionary ranks could by no means be solved by one or two tests of strength. In due

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* "Letter to Tseng Kuo-ch'üan."

course, the venerate-Confucius, separatist and capitulationist reactionary line represented by Li Hsiu-ch'eng gradually took shape. Even though he was of poor peasant origin, after he was swept by revolutionary tides into revolutionary ranks, Li Hsiu-ch'eng accepted neither the theory and line of revolution nor the impact of revolution on his own transformation. On the contrary, he increasingly changed under the corrupt influence of feudal ways of thinking. When the revolution suffered reverses, he became despondent and pessimistic, compromisingly sought security, and advanced a reactionary line completely suitable for the needs of external enemies. In politics, he enthusiastically labored for a venerate-Confucius restoration; in matters of organization, he played divide-and-rule, scheming for separate spheres of power; in policy and strategy, he engaged in secretive plots and shady plans, playing a two-faced game. This caused grave harm to the revolution.

Under these difficult conditions, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan still unswervingly maintained the correct line of the peasant revolution. In order to strengthen the core of the T'ai-p'ing leadership, he courageously elevated Ch'en Yü-ch'eng, the youthful military leader tested by bitter struggles, to the post in charge of military matters. He also appointed Hung Jen-kan, who "grew firmer with the times and who shared the same ambition of the South Prince (Feng Yün-shan)," to "oversee dynastic affairs" and to "change the old and establish the new." Hung Jen-kan and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan were among those who sought truth from the West prior to the birth of the Chinese Communis Party. As early as the formative stage of the revolution, he had followed Hung Hsiu-ch'üan in spreading revolutionary thoughts. Because he was unable to rush to Chint'ien in time to join the uprising, he sought refuge in Hong Kong and, breaking through all barriers, he arrived at Heavenly Capital in April 1859. Receiving his order at a critical time, he indicated that on this "meaningful day" of the revolution, he wished to vow to struggle in behalf of the working peoples' "unified and long-living T'ai-p'ing rule."* After the political line is determined, cadres become a decisive factor. Facts prove that Hung Hsiu-ch'üan in practicing the line of "employing the wise and devoted," provided the organizational guarantee for turning around the revolutionary crisis.

In facing the same difficult situation in the same period, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Hung Jen-kan on the one side and Li Hsiu-ch'eng on the other revealed two entirely different attitudes and followed two sharply opposed lines. Thus a severe contest inevitably followed. This contest, along with the Wei Ch'ang-hui and Shih Ta-k'ai incidents, all make it plain that the national and class struggles of the Chinese people against imperialism and feudalism were unavoidably reflected in the revolutionary ranks. Those careerists and capitulationists within the T'ai-p'ing army became agents of counter-revolutionary forces at home and abroad and perpetrated deeds which class enemies wanted to but could not perform.

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* Hung Jen-kan, "A New Treatise on Government."

If the revolutionary people want to strengthen and develop the results of their own victory, they must proceed with political and ideological struggles that are far more difficult than those directed at establishing a regime, strengthen the revolutionary dictatorship, throttle and attack the regressive, separatist and renegade activities of the capitulationists.

II

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The real purpose of the anti-capitulationist and anti-separatist struggles of the later stages of the T'ai-p'ing was to uphold the peasant revolutionary line formulated by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan. On the other hand, the capitulationists headed by Li Hsiu-ch'eng vainly tried to fundamentally "revise" the peasant revolutionary line. Toward this end, he acted like flies attracted to dirt, sucking the poisonous juice from the teachings of Confucius and Mencius to use as ideological weapons. In 1858, Liu Hsiu-ch'eng openly proposed to Hung Hsiu-ch'üan "to follow the ancient institutions in order to benefit the world" and "relax the penal codes to benefit mankind."* He thus aired the grievances of the landlords and trumpeted restoration and regression, brazenly trying to alter Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's peasant revolutionary line that was for suppressing the landlords and protecting the people with "alleviation of the people's plight by destroying the specious and upholding the just." Li Hsiu-ch'eng believed adamantly in the "Heavenly Mandate theory," holding that "the people's life and death, the fortunes and misfortunes of man are all preordained."** Therefore, all so-called "rebellions" and "revolutions" were unnecessary and "negated the Heavenly mandate and went against the way of Heaven." He shamelessly praised the executioner Tseng Kuo-fang's bloody suppression of the revolution as the "profound blessings" of the Ch'ing dynasty "intended by Heaven." He cursed the Heavenly Kingdom as "having its days numbered"; at the same time, toward what Hung Hsiu-ch'üan believed in as the "true way," which steadfastly used the "supreme god" as idealized by the peasants to encourage the soldiers and people to oppose the feudal emperor in real life, Li Hsiu-ch'eng rebutted by attacking it as "totally dependent on Heaven."***

Li Hsiu-ch'eng's attack not only exposed his own intentions, but also proved by negative example that the T'ai-p'ing's practice of a revolutionary dictatorship in the ideological realm hurt the reactionaries where it hurt most. During the long-term struggles, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan always maintained the anti-Confucius struggle on the ideological front, making it an important component of the general revolutionary line. The graver the situation, the firmer became his will to struggle. Without the slightest

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* "The Autobiography of Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

** Shen Tzu, "Diary of Hiding from the Bandits."

*** "The Autobiography of Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

compromise, he continued to wipe out those "heretical principles and evil words" that did not accord with the "true way" of the peasant revolution, substituting in their place combative and lively peasant revolutionary thoughts. In 1862, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan approved the republication of the "T'ai-p'ing Days" which publicized the "heavenly sentiments and reasons" of revolution. He also published numerous revolutionary works, severely attacking the way of Confucius and Mencius by telling the people that such "Confucian tenets urging moderation and disregard of the difficulty of human labor," the so-called Heavenly mandate theory and the Confucian "canons" were all "bewitching words" to "mislead human hearts and confuse the true way." Hung Jen-kan on the other hand correctly and clearly contended that "life and death run their course, while wealth and prosperity are based in the land," that it was "man who made things," and that "laws of later ages surpassed those of antiquity,"* thus forcefully rebutting the mandate of Heaven theory and restoration talk pushed by Li Hsiu-ch'eng. During this struggle between two ideological lines, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan further used the might of state power and reiterated that "all bewitching works and heretical sayings of Confucius, Mencius and other philosophers must be burned and eradicated," and that "none should be traded, hidden or read." As for Li Hsiu-ch'eng's blatant allowance of his underlings to defy the ban by selecting scholar-officials through examination based on the "Four Books and Five Classics," an order was issued to deal with it sternly. Some quilty examination officers were "promptly put to death."**

Ideological lines are there to serve political lines. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's anti-Confucian struggle in the late T'ai-p'ing period aimed at firmly maintaining the anti-feudal and anti-aggression political line. Li Hsiu-ch'eng's honor-Confucius restoration in the ideological realm was to perpetrate restoration and capitulation in the political realm. After 1860, in the Li Hsiu-ch'eng-controlled Kiangsu-Chekiang region, revolutionary policies were seriously tampered with and the power of the landlord class was quickly restored. In T'unghsiang, Chekiang, even exiled landlords were entitled to claim back land rents, and the "renting households" were "not allowed to owe." Some areas altogether allowed the landlord elements to gain political authority. In some places landlords were simply allowed to resume power. After Ch'ien Kuei-jen, a big landlord of T'unghsiang, Anhwei, maneuvered his way into the T'ai-p'ing army, he was appreciated by Li Hsiu-ch'eng and conferred the title as "Chief General of the Heavenly Army." Later still he was made the Pi Prince, holding top military and political authority over the two countries of Ch'angshu and Chaowen. Ch'ien took the opportunity to counter-attack in revenge and practiced class retaliation. When the impoverished peasants expressed dissatisfaction with the perverted acts of Li Hsiu-ch'eng and company and refused to pay rents to landlords, Li Hsiu-ch'eng allowed Ch'ien Kuei-jen and others to

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* Hung Jen-kan, "Heroes Joining the True Fold."

** Ch'en Ch'ing-chia, "Poems Recounting Affairs of Chinling."

arrest them "for beheading" and to send troops to "search and destroy."* It is no wonder that the landlords lauded his "virtues" and enthusiastically built "a monument for him to express their gratitude."**

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan conducted a resolute struggle against Li Hsiu-ch'eng's class capitulationist line. In 1860, the T'ai-p'ing again promulgated "The Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty." This great program pointedly reflected the intense desire of the peasant masses for political liberation and economic independence. Although for various reasons it was unable to be thoroughly put into practice, its repromulgation at a time of such severe struggles amply illustrated Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's constantly keeping the class interests of the peasants at heart. In the same year, Hung issued a decree especially for Kiangsu and Fukien to protect peasant interests and lighten peasant burdens.*** Later he directly warned Li Hsiu-ch'eng and his gang "not to oppress the people of the occupied towns and cities," ordering them to "repent one and all." Hung Jen-kan moreover evolved a simple philosophy of struggle from "the great battles of life and death." He pointed out that when the enemies "show not a bit of compassion to us, we too should not show them any kindness and love."+ This clearly expressed the class stand of peasant revolutionaries.

Li Hsiu-ch'eng, while throwing himself into the arms of the landlord class internally, had illusions about foreign gangsters, thus causing the revolutionary war to suffer repeated reverses. In July 1860, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan approved the decision of the military conference held in April and commenced the first strike on Shanghai. This was the Chinese people's death-and-life struggle against the foreign aggressors. But just as the battle began, Li Hsiu-ch'eng notified the envoys of various countries requesting that foreign churches and business houses "hoist yellow flags" so that "the best protection"++ could be given to them. Even after the aggressors tore away their disguise of "neutrality," he still hoped for "the foreign devils and Manchu soldiers to welcome" him into Shanghai. But, those who welcomed him were not people waving friendly yellow flags, but people who madly fired foreign cannon at him. The T'ai-p'ing army was caught unawares and large numbers of fighters went down in brave sacrifice.

The Chinese people have the glorious tradition of resisting external aggression. The T'ai-p'ing heroes, represented by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, when faced with imperialist aggression, rose up bravely to fight instead of fawning on them, bearing the double historical mission of the Chinese nation in fighting against feudalism and aggression.

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* "Li Hsiu-ch'eng's Admonition to the People of the Su Prefecture."

** "Preface to the Ch'angshu Thanksgiving Monument."

*** "Decree of the Heavenly King."

\+ Fritz (富礼赐), "Travelogue of the Heavenly Capital."

++ "Letter of Li Hsiu-ch'eng to the Ambassadors of Various Countries."

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan "was always aware of the duplicity of the foreigners." When the aggressors tried to lure the T'ai-p'ing army into "partnership," Hung Hsiu-ch'üan sternly pointed out that the T'ai-p'ing government "wants to save all of China." How then could it "invite the devils into the country" and allow "the world to laugh at us"! The T'ai-p'ing generals also "refused to recognize" so-called concession "rights," declaring categorically that the "concessions belong to the Heavenly Dynasty, and therefore, like other places in China, should be totally controlled by the T'ai-p'ing army."* During the first attack on Shanghai, Hung Jen-kan had notes delivered to the ministers of England, the United States and other countries, condemning their "aiding the evil" and exposing their "direct violation of neutrality."** The fact was: their "neutrality" was false and aggression was real. In April 1862, the Tsarist naval commander Popov (颠颠福) met with Li Hung-chang and declared: The Russian "Sovereign sincerely wishes to be on friendly terms with the Chinese Emperor and, on hearing of the disquiet of the seaport, has sent me here to see if there is anything we can do to help with the extermination of bandits."*** A certain British vice-consul recommended himself to Li Hung-chang, saying that he was willing, while "the rebels were at wits' end," to conduct subversive activities in the T'ai-p'ing army. He also offered a plan to Li Hung-chang: "Disband the followers and use them as inside help."+ But, no matter how calculating the aggressors became, the T'ai-p'ing heroes headed by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan were neither befuddled by the sinister policy of appeasement nor frightened by the lunatic military suppression. They courageously fought, killing or wounding British and French admirals, fleet commanders and many leaders of the "Ever Victorious Army," thus severely punishing the invading gangsters. Even Tseng Kuo-fan and his people could not but admit that "the foreigners fear the 'long hairs' as much as we do."++

The victories won in the anti-aggression struggle by the T'ai-p'ing army under the command of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan unfurled the power of the Chinese people as well as safeguarding their state sovereignty and national dignity.

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* "Letter from British Consul for Ningpo Harvey to British Ambassador to Peking, Bruce."

** "Letter from Yang Tu-hsin to Dittman (戴德曼), Secretary of the London Missionary Society."

*** Tung Hsün, "Records of Foreign Soldiers."

\+ Ibid.

++ "Management of Foreign Affairs," T'ung-chih Reign.

III

The ideological and political line determines the organizational line, and the latter line in turn guarantees implementation of the political line. During the later stages of the T'ai-p'ing, Li Hsiu-ch'eng, in order to push his revisionist line, engineered splits and secessions organizationally, thus destroying revolutionary unity. As early as 1858, he pleaded with Hung Hsiu-ch'üan to "still trust and employ Prince I," Shih Ta-k'ai, chief culprit of separatism; then later he blatantly opposed the appointment by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan of Hung Jen-kan as Premier. Hung saw Li's tricks, kept his faith in Hung Jen-kan, and approved the promulgation of "A New Treatise on Government" authored by Hung Jen-kan. The concrete line struggle already made Hung Jen-kan realize that certain members in the revolutionary ranks "formed cliques," that they were "versed in the art of self-preservation, rallied support for themselves, made private gains in the name of the public, and pursued their own ends to the detriment of the cause. When those who lead the troops do this, military laws can hardly be enforced. When those who run the government do this, they will attempt to usurp power."* The dangers were truly great and could never be tolerated! Hung Jen-kan pointedly proposed to "forbid the formation of factions" and to "centralize power from top to bottom." "Promotions or demotions even at the low level are to be approved by the Heavenly Court," "Heavy punishment is to be meted out to those who privately hand out official appointments and to those who accept them." Even more severe penalties had to be imposed on those careerists who used the army as a tool for secessionist and conspiratorial activities, their "military power to be curbed," independent kingdoms crushed, thus "preventing them from staging rebellion and military coups."** These powerful measures hit Li Hsiu-ch'eng where it hurt most, and he jumped out to attack Hung Hsiu-ch'üan for employing Hung Jen-kan, "distrusting outer-circle officials" and "appointing people without principle." As a result, "the wise and the brave ones do not come forward." However, facts speak the loudest. After Hung Jen-kan became premier, he overcame in a large degree the phenomena of "letting each army live or die on its own, and of disunified command." Such a peasant hero as Ch'en Yü-ch'eng was able to show his mettle in revolutionary war. Stronger centralization of power was the basic guarantee for subsequent military triumphs. In May 1860, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Hung Jen-kan formulated the strategy of feigning an attack on Hangchow in order to break the siege of the Heavenly capital. Because of increased centralized power, all troops deployed as ordered. Under unified command, they bravely fought from five routes and put to rout the Ch'ing troops of the South Yangtze Camp. The chief commander Hochun committed suicide by drinking poison. This campaign "instantly broke the siege of the capital" and "greatly uplifted the army's morale."

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* "A New Treatise on Government."

** "Promulgation of Hung Jen-kan's Legislation."

Relying on such single-mindedness from top to bottom and on the unity of soldiers and people, the T'ai-p'ing army also rapidly liberated the "richly endowed regions" of Kiangsu and Chekiang.

After the liberation of Kiangsu and Chekiang, their "riches" should have been turned over to "the coffers of state" to "supplement the military expenses of the capital."* But Li Hsiu-ch'eng took these "richly endowed regions" as bases of his separatist operations. When Hung Jen-kan asked him to comply with the pre-arranged plans of supporting Ch'en Yü-ch'eng's troops in a joint attack of Wuch'ang, he could not forget that "taking Soochow without Hangchow was like a bird being without wings." And when he captured Hangchow he thought that feather and wings were full, and thus he openly defied "the ruler's orders" and went his own way. As he did not join the attack on Wuch'ang, Ch'en Yü-ch'eng fought alone. As a result, while Wuch'ang could not be taken, Anch'ing was lost. When later Hung Jen-kan spoke of this regrettable event, he pointed out, "Once Anch'ing was gone, the cities along the route to the Heavenly capital fell in succession."** This was a severe condemnation of Li Hsiu-ch'eng's criminal acts. When conditions worsened, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Hung Jen-kan called on the soldiers and people "to unite with a will" and "not to fear the devils and ghosts." Li Hsiu-ch'eng on the other hand entrenched himself in the "rich and prosperous environs of Soochow and Hangchow." In early 1862, Hung Jen-kan wrote to Li Hsiu-ch'eng, pointing out that it was a serious mistake for him "to lower his guard after the seizure of Kiangsu and Chekiang." He warned that "not caring for the north bank and the capital" would, "in the event of a single setback," cause the bad consequence of not being able to carry the revolution "long and far."*** Still later, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan angrily scolded Li Hsiu-ch'eng to his face that he was "disloyal" to the revolution, that he had "intentions of self-aggrandizement," and demanded that he rein himself back in time. Li Hsiu-ch'eng refused to accept the criticism and warning, and even ignoring the "deranking" and "dismissal" punishment, kept going stubbornly along the road of separatism.

IV

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan firmly maintained the correct line of peasant revolution. He was stern and uncompromising toward his enemies, but frank and just toward his comrades. His political position represented the welfare of the poor peasant masses, and was in turn supported by them. This is truly the source of strength of peasant revolutions. Li Hsiu-ch'eng, on the other hand, went the other way, stubbornly maintaining the reactionary line endangering the revolution. He was therefore deranked and dismissed by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan as many as four times.

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* "Imperial Decree for Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

** "Autobiography of Hung Jen-kan."

*** Ibid.

Why then was it that Li Hsiu-ch'eng, dismissed many times, could still be endowed, titled and elevated higher than before? One very important reason was that after each punishment, he covered his tracks and faked being a revolutionary, when in actuality he was insincere and played a two-faced game. He acted this way during such major late-T'ai-p'ing campaigns as the Kiangsu-Chekiang war, the second westward expedition and the battle in defense of the Heavenly capital. The numerous line struggles in the late-T'ai-p'ing era and in other periods of history tell us that leaders of revisionism, fearing the revolutionary awe of the broad masses, often did not raise high and openly their counter-revolutionary standard. Either by sleight of hand they confused the boundaries of the two lines, or by secretive plotting and setting brush fires they forced their dirty wares on the revolutionary masses. Once exposed, they became cautious for a moment, waiting for another chance to strike. For the revolutionary masses to recognize them in time, therefore, is no easy matter. As a peasant leader Hung Hsiu-ch'üan could not employ the scientific method of class analysis to detect and expose the essence of Li Hsiu-ch'eng's revision of the peasant revolutionary line and was unable to fully reveal Li's cunning skills in shady plots and deceitful plans. Rather, he was again and again fooled by Li. At the same time, Li Hsiu-ch'eng's capitulationist intent also has its own sequence of exposure, making it all the more difficult for people to see his true face.

However, in the life-and-death struggle between the two classes and two lines, heroes and renegades in the end could be distinguished. At the end of 1863, T'an Shao-kuang, Prince Mu, led his troops in defense of Soochow. During the heavy siege he, seeing "the numerous difficulties encountered by the T'ai-p'ing army and the valiant fighting by the T'ai-p'ing troops in Kwangtung and Kwangsi," reproached those "unreliable" fellows who were then "in process of negotiating surrender,"* and was determined to fight to the end. In 1864 the position of the Heavenly capital was extremely precarious. Yet the faith of the peasant heroes as represented by Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was not a bit shaken, and their will to fight was all the more firm. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan promulgated his order to resolutely suppress renegades, traitors and capitulationists, took the lead in taking wild plants to stave off hunger, and called on the army and people to vow to defend the capital to the death. The Heavenly capital stood tall and firm in fire and smoke of battle, an unyielding symbol of revolution, enormously inspiring the masses of soldiers and people bathed in the blood of battle. But then, on the second day of his sneaking back from the front lines to the Heavenly capital, Li Hsiu-ch'eng, having already condoned his "trusted ones" and "favorite generals" in offering Soochow to the enemy, proposed to Hung Hsiu-ch'üan "to abandon the city to go elsewhere." Hung pointed out that he was "cowardly," deprived him of the right to speak in the central government body, and solemnly warned him that if he opposed central orders, he would face "execution." Li Hsiu-ch'eng refused to

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* Ho I-k'o, "Gordon in China."

change and worked through his wife's brother to make secretive capitulationist deals with the enemy. After the matter was known, he was able to escape severe punishment only by "using silver" to bribe the officials of the "Ministry of Law." Later, still frightened, he said that had he not done this, his "life would be long gone."* In June 1864, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan died of illness. In the late-T'ai-p'ing period, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan raised high the big flag of opposing the feudal emperor and foreign aggressors, and till the last moment of his life, he led the masses of soldiers and people in continuous struggle against the capitulationists within the revolutionary ranks. He certainly deserved being the outstanding leader of the T'ai-p'ing. In October, Hung Jen-kan fell into evil hands in Kiangsi. Facing the extreme penalty of "death by torture," he was composed in his great righteousness, angrily upbraiding devilish tricks of the "evil thieves," and painfully pointing out that "the foreigners' aiding the evil forces" was the "primary cause"** for the failure of the revolution. Just prior to his death, he recited a poem to air his stand: "The Heavenly Kingdom's fortunes, though impaired, will surely be reborn one day." At death he still carried on the great anti-feudal and anti-aggression struggle, suffused with limitless faith and optimism.

Living for the revolution, open and aboveboard; dying for the revolution, courageous and bitter. This was the natural result of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's and Hung Jen-kan's unswerving and unrelenting devotion to the revolutionary cause. Li Hsiu-ch'eng, bent on sliding along the revisionist path, did not have a good end. After his capture, Li Hsiu-ch'eng was untiringly obsequious toward the traitor Tseng Kuo-fan. He offered Tseng a ten-point "Outline of Recovery," scheming to "gradually collect and surrender his followers on both banks,"*** and hence attempting to use the blood of several hundred thousand T'ai-p'ing troops to exchange for his life, profit and rank. This then completely stripped him of his "revolutionary" cloak and revealed his ugly features as a loyal lackey to "His Majesty of the Great Ch'ing." But then none of the many venomous plans which he made for "His Majesty" to extinguish the revolution through "pacification" and "amnesty" was able to save his life. Rather they served as ropes which tied him to history's post of shame, making him infamous for ten thousand years to come.

From the anti-capitulationist and anti-separatist struggles in the late-T'ai-p'ing period, we can see that for several thousand years peasants endured ruthless exploitation and oppression. Such a class position determined their desire to change for the better, their courage to struggle, their enmity toward evil, their complete disagreement with the exploiting class,

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* "The Autobiography of Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

** "The Autobiography of Hung Jen-kan."

*** "The Autobiography of Li Hsiu-ch'eng."

their refusal to join in the latter's filthy acts. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, then, was their outstanding reprsentative. He firmly maintained a revolutionary line that was for the welfare of the peasant class, struggled for it while living, and offered himself for it in death. Such a spirit is the essence of history that we need to absorb. But Li Hsiu-ch'eng's manipulations in revisionism decided his betrayal of the peasant class and surrender to the feudal landlord class. Such a person belonged to the degenerates of the T'ai-p'ing and deserved no longer to be called a peasant revolutionary. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company heaped elaborate praise upon Li Hsiu-ch'eng, seeing history's dregs as treasure. The Soviet revisionist renegades gold-plated the image of Li Hsiu-ch'eng, hailing him as "an outstanding commander and leader of the peasant army."* This only makes clear that Soviet revisionist new tsars are the enemies of the Chinese people, unremitting in their wish to destroy us. It further exposes their renegade features.

Moreover, the anti-capitulationist and anti-separatist struggles in late-T'ai-p'ing forcefully prove that even though the old-style peasant wars unavoidably failed because of historical limitations of their class, they did not inevitably go the way of capitulation. The capitulationists' being lackeys and the "limitations of the peasants" were entirely different. Opportunists who were accustomed to airing theories of class reconciliation attempted to blur the line differences as well as class boundaries. They "want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast because they will then be all in one pot." ("Engels to A. Bebel") In future sharp and complicated class struggles, characters like Li Hsiu-ch'eng, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao are likely to appear. If only we take class struggle as the key link and firmly uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will certainly recognize, expose and thoroughly crush in time their counter-revolutionary plots and gain greater victories in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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* Nikifurov (尼基甫洛夫), "Book Review: China's Modern History," Soviet Modern and Contemporary History magazine, No. 4, 1973.

Tachai Matures in Struggle

by

The Group for Compiling and Writing the History
of Tachai, Hsiyang County

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1976)

Tachai is a red banner personally raised by great leader Chairman Mao, a model of perseverance in pursuit of the Party's basic line, continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In 1964 Chairman Mao issued a great call to the whole nation, "Learn from Tachai in agriculture." For 11 years the red banner of Tachai has been flying high on the lofty Tiger's Head Mountain, red flowers of Tachai have been blooming all over the motherland, and the spirit of Tachai has spread over the five continents and the four seas. Tachai's growth depends entirely on nurture from Mao Tsetung Thought, its progress on guidance provided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and its transformation on its perseverance in pursuit of the Party's basic line and class struggle. The history of Tachai is one of class struggle.

Old Tachai in Deep Suffering

Tachai is situated in a valley below the Tiger's Head Mountain 10 li southeast of Hsiyang city. Because it was a small and poverty-stricken village in the old society, no one living 30 li away knew that Tachai existed at all in Hsiyang. Here in this unknown impoverished mountain village lived 64 families. More than 70 percent of the nearly 800 mow of cultivated land of the village was owned by four landlord or rich peasant families. Over 30 of the 48 families of poor and lower-middle peasants were forced by the need of making a living to work as hired hands or casual laborers for the landlords and rich peasants, and tended cattle and sheep for them. Over 10 families begged for food from door to door all the year round. In those days only several landlord and rich peasant families lived in large brick houses, while the poor people had their homes in mud caves. The landlords and rich peasants lived a life of luxury without having to work, whereas the poor people worked all the year round and had to subsist on coarse cereals and vegetables, struggling on the verge of death. The poor people said with sadness, "There are three major evils weighing upon poor people: government taxes, land rent, and usury." There were then five "many" in Tachai, i.e., many farm hands, many debtors, many beggars, many sellers of sons and daughters, and many suicides. "Be a hired hand and sleep without a bed; sell your children and still have to beg. One can never pay back the debts he owes the rich though he works all the year round. Never marry your daughter to a poor man of Tachai." This folk song was a true portrayal of the tragic life of the poor. In a famine year, the poor would find it hard to escape death. Even now, the old folks of Tachai have not forgotten the

tragic year of 1920, when a serious famine befell the place. Over 20 poor families fled their homes and sold their children. Seven families perished without leaving a single survivor. It was in that year that Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's family was broken up by natural disaster, land rent and usury. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's old home was in the present Shihshan production brigade of Pachou Commune about 60 li from Tachai. His grandfather was an utter pauper. His father, Ch'en Chih-ju, had four brothers, and all five died tragic deaths in the old society. The eldest brother, forced by famine to flee his home, perished in the sands beside the Yellow River. The third brother, having worked as a hired hand for landlords for more than 20 years and squeezed dry, was kicked out by them and starved to death. The fourth brother was burned to death by Japanese fascist gangsters in a kiln for heating alum. The fifth brother, tormented in the man-eating society, went mad and died miserably. Ch'en Chih-ju, the second of the brothers, had nowhere to turn to in the great famine of 1920, when Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was only six years old. With tears in his eyes and bearing the pain in his heart, he sold his wife and Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's sister and younger brother so they might live. He then went back to his old home in Shihshan Village without telling Ch'en Yung-kuei in a dark night. A broken man, he hanged himself on a tree in front of the tomb of his ancestors. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was now an orphan. He tended cattle for an old money-lender when he was only 8 years old, and became a hired hand when he was scarcely 10. Unable to stand the brutal exploitation and oppression, he left Tachai when he was young, became an apprentice in a pastry shop and worked in a coal pit. But no matter where he went, he was unable to escape flogging and scolding, being hard pressed by cold and hunger. So he went back to Tachai to work as a hired hand and led a lonely existence. Later, with the help of some poor brethren, he took a child wife. With an additional mouth to feed he, who could scarcely feed himself, led an even harder life. Fifteen catties of beans, 40 catties of bran chaff of wheat and 80 catties of rice chaff formed a whole year's diet for the couple. They lived mainly on wild plants. The history of misery of Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's family is a miniature of the poor people of Tachai in the old society.

In the old society the poor people of Tachai were economically brutally exploited and politically inhumanely oppressed. In the fall of one year the wife of Li Hsi-chi, passing by a landlord's field on her way home after begging for food in another village, picked up an ear of corn left there by the landlord's people after harvesting. Discovering this, the landlord had her suspended from a large willow tree, scolding and beating her and otherwise maltreating her for half a day. After being beaten up in this way by the landlord, Li Hsi-chi's wife was bruised all over. She died in pain and hunger. The brutal oppression of poor people by landlords and rich men denied the poor people any way to make a decent living. Even when they wanted to celebrate the spring festival, they had to do it according to the wishes of the landlords and rich men. Any contrariety to these wishes would bring immediate punishment. During the "Lantern Festival" one year in the first lunar month, the landlords and rich men wanted the poor people

to welcome lanterns according to a designated route: first they were to bring the lanterns to Dragon Hill, then to Tiger Hill and then to pass by the front gates of the homes of the landlords and rich men, to signify the coming of the "lucky star of dragon and tiger" to their homes. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was resentful of such an arrangement made by them. He said to his poor brethren: "The rich want luck and fulfillment of their wishes, but we will go against their wish. We will go the other way round." Leading the party, he deliberately went to Tiger Hill first and then to Dragon Hill without passing by the doors of the landlords and rich men at all. This act of resistance by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei offended them. They accused him of having violated "village regulations" and scolded him, beat him up, and imposed a fine on him, forcing him to work for the landlords for a whole year without getting any pay. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was grievously wronged, but his act of resistance boosted the morale of the poor people while dampening the domineering spirit of the landlords and rich men.

Oppressed and exploited by landlords and rich men, the miserable, poor people of Tachai did not have enough food and clothing. They were reduced to skin and bones and suffered indescribably. The "July 7" incident of 1937 added to the misery of the poor people of Tachai. On the 1st day of the 10th lunar month Japanese imperialism stormed and took Hsiyang city. Everywhere there was an atmosphere of white terror. After that date the poor people of Tachai were trampled under the iron hoofs of the Japanese invaders. They were in constant peril. In particular, the savage "3-all" policy of the Japanese invaders led to even more brutal slaughter of the people of Tachai. In 1940 alone 42 young men and men in their prime were murdered. Owing to the trampling and persecution by Japanese imperialism, the misery of the poor people of Tachai was steadily aggravated. The land lay in waste without producing any crop, or per-mow yield was only several dozen catties. Doubly harassed by hunger and cold, life hung on a thread. Sorrowful lament was heard day and night in the village. In 1942 underground working personnel of our Party came deep into the area of Tachai, mobilizing the masses for extermination of traitors and struggle against enemy agents, and developing the struggle against the enemy. In the midst of white terror Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, disregarding his own safety, actively participated in undercover anti-Japanese work. He regularly gave cover to our underground working personnel and secretly enlisted the aid of his poor brethren in doing sentry and scouting duties, transmitting information, raising funds and transporting food for guerrilla units, thus developing a tit-for-tat struggle against the Japanese aggressor. In 1943, while carrying grain to a base, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was captured by the enemy, being betrayed by a bad man. The enemy subjected him to severe torture in an attempt to get information about the base from him, but Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei remained steadfastly unyielding, waging a stubborn struggle. At that time there was a man in the same prison who, unable to bear the torture, began to waver. Noticing this, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei warned him sternly, saying, "If you reveal any revolutionary secret, I'll batter you till you die!" Thus he demonstrated a high degree of revolutionary integrity.

Land Reform Enables Poor People To Stand Up

In August 1945 Hsiyang was liberated. The poor people of Tachai, dispelling the dark clouds over them, saw the sun again. They established a democratic government and set up their own organization--a peasant association. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the CCP, they waged struggle against feudal forces, carried out rent and interest reduction, settled accounts with traitors, and immediately following that, carried out land reform. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants waged resolute struggle against landlords, rich peasants, traitors and running dogs. In high fighting morale, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei walked in front of the movement. A backbone of the peasants association, he struggled against the landlords and re-distributed land together with his poor brethren. At the time, as a result of prolonged rule and oppression by the three big mountains, some poor people, firmly bound by the idea of family and unable to wake up in time, erroneously thought that all who bore the same surname belonged to the same family. Landlords and rich peasants surnamed Chia also spread such reactionary views as "The character Chia cannot be separated into two parts" and "Related or not, we are kinsmen, and all who bear the surname of Chia belong to one family." By means of claims of relationship, they secured the support of and corrupted the poor people in order to resist and sabotage the land reform movement. To hit back at the sabotage activities of the landlord and rich peasant elements, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, leading the backbone members of the peasants association and through its organization, went deep among the masses, mobilizing them from door to door and quickening the class consciousness of the poor people with bitter facts of exploitation of poor people surnamed Chia by landlords and rich peasants also surnamed Chia. Old poor peasant Chia Chin-ts'ai called rich peasant Chia Teng-yuan Third Uncle, but the latter did not lessen his exploitation and oppression of the former because he was surnamed Chia and moreover his Third Nephew. Instead, Chia Teng-yuan exploited and oppressed Chia Chin-ts'ai even more heartlessly and fiercely. Chia Chin-ts'ai's two elder brothers died of hard work in Chia Teng-yuan's house. From the time he could raise his rice bowl, Chia Chin-ts'ai worked as a hired hand for Chia Teng-yuan. Year in, year out, he worked like a beast of burden, but could not make enough to feed and clothe himself adequately. After Chia Chin-ts'ai took a child wife--Sung Li-ying, life became even harder. When Chia Chin-ts'ai had nothing to eat, Chia Teng-yuan forced Sung Li-ying, then in her teens, to do his household chores, washing dishes, scrubbing pots and pans, washing clothes and grinding rice. All menial and dirty work was done by Sung Li-ying. Even working like that, she could only have chaff and vegetables or spoiled leftovers to eat. In severe winter months, wearing not cotton-padded clothes but only rags and worn-out shoes and enduring cold and hunger, she had to grind rice and went to the river to wash clothes for Chia Teng-yuan. Chia Chin-ts'ai's suffering was well-known to everyone, but the facts as shown by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei touched a sore spot in the heart of the poor brethren. They said, "There is only class kinship, no clan kinship. Poor people all over the world, not people bearing the same surname, belong to one family. All

landlords and rich peasants are man-eating monsters. Chairman Mao is the great savior of us poor people." With their class consciousness awakened, the poor brethren became more eager to struggle against the landlords and redistribute land. After more than one year's struggle, the landlords were downed, the poor people got their share of houses, domestic animals, and liquid assets. Land was equally redistributed according to the "Outline of Land Law" laid down by the Party Central Committee, and land reform was accomplished. Immediately after that, a Party branch and a village government were set up. The poor people stood up politically and economically. They said with joy, "The cycad of a thousand years is flowering, with the poor people becoming masters of the house."

Simultaneous with the struggle against landlords and carrying out of land reform, a surging tide to support the nationwide war of liberation was whipped up in Tachai. For the sake of striking down Chiang Kai-shek, liberating all China and defending the fruit of their own liberation, the peasants who stood up on their own feet enlisted one after another in the Chinese PLA and gloriously marched to the front-line. Youngsters and people in their prime left behind in the village also actively went to the frontline to take part in the war, bearing stretchers, carrying the wounded and transporting food and ammunition. The women were also actively engaged in production and made shoes in support of the front. They all contributed their bit to the liberation of all China. Liberated Tachai was a picture of vigor.

Poor Brethren Are Organized

The great land reform movement smashed the iron chains of a thousand years, and poor people stood up to become masters of the house. But not long afterward, polarization appeared owing to the difference of labor power and conditions of management between different families. Some poor peasants and farm hands sold the land, house and domestic animals distributed to them. Some people, seriously imbued with ideas of spontaneous capitalism, watched for opportunities to buy land, houses and domestic animals to develop rich peasant economy. Landlord and rich peasant elements who had been overthrown again put on long gowns and vests and went hither and thither to engage in trade and profiteering. Some families with little or no labor power allowed their land to lie in waste because they were unable to till it. They continued to live a difficult life. Such conditions raised a question: Where should the peasants who had stood up go? Should they walk the road of "Be organized" as indicated by Chairman Mao or turn back? At that time some people seriously imbued with ideas of spontaneous capitalism energetically spread the view, "If you want to get rich quick, buy and sell crops." Deceived by such a view, some cadres collected capital from the masses and again made use of the overthrown landlords and rich peasants in carrying out buying and selling. They went to Hopei to buy cotton and cotton cloth and sold the goods at home at a profit. At the same time they hired men from another village to dig a coal pit in the valley east of the village.

But the coal pit was flooded before any coal was mined. In only a short time the capital collected from the masses was lost. The landlords and rich peasants, who were so-called men of ability, became fat, but the broad mass of poor people were victimized. The poor and lower-middle peasants said with bitterness, "Expenditure of 100 tan of rice resulted in two pits of water. Misguidance by the cadres brings ill-luck to the masses." In the vehement struggle to decide which road to follow, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei stood on the side of the poor and lower-middle peasants from beginning to end. Firmly resisting the evil wind of capitalism, they refused to take shares in the coal pit or walk the wrong road, but resolutely followed the words of Chairman Mao and walk the road of "Be organized."

While the mutual-aid teams were being organized, different people had different ideas and different attitudes. The poor and lower-middle peasants urgently wanted to be organized because they had numerous difficulties in carrying on farming alone. They lacked not only labor power, but also animals and farm implements, and some of the women and youngsters knew nothing about growing crops. These people were sincerely for forming mutual-aid teams. Some well-off middle peasants were negative toward being organized. In their hearts they did not want to form mutual-aid teams but were unwilling to say so. They therefore resorted to a ruse. They organized a pseudo mutual-aid team with well-off middle peasants as the mainstay and asked Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei to be the head of their team. Seeing through at once their ruse, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei resolutely refused to join their pseudo mutual-aid team. Instead, he went hither and thither to get the people's support and organized five old men in their 60's or 70's and seven teenagers, forming a mutual-aid team of nine families.

A pseudo mutual-aid team with well-off middle peasants as the mainstay was formed, and so was a true mutual-aid team of the old men and teenagers. As soon as the rival teams entered the stage a vehement struggle between the two roads developed. Seeing that the mutual-aid team led by Chia Shou-yuan, a well-off middle peasant, was formed of men of strong labor power, people called it a "strong-man team," while that led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, being formed of old men and teenagers, was called an "old-young team." As soon as the "old-young team" was formed, there was considerable discussion about it. Some were sympathetic and supported it, while others ridiculed and mocked it. Some said, "We don't know what Ch'en Yung-kuei has in his mind. He is young and strong, and moreover a first class farmer. What can he do but lose by working with old men and youngsters? He is really a fool." Some said, "The old ones of Ch'en Yung-kuei's old-young team cannot mount a horse, and the young ones cannot draw a bow. Let's wait and see what they can do." Even members of Ch'en Yung-kuei's team, seeing that mutual-aid between Ch'en Yung-kuei and themselves was all one-sided aid, were not happy. They asked that one day's work by Ch'en Yung-kuei be equated to two days' work of theirs. But after listening to these views, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei did not waver in the least. He said to members of his team, "Without Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, none of us can stand

up. In the old society I could never have good times no matter how strong my labor power was. Chairman Mao has called upon us to be organized. We must heed his word and walk the road of being organized. When we follow Chairman Mao in making revolution and stand up together with our poor brethren, what is there to lose?" In view of the skeptical attitude of some people toward the "old-young team," Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said to them in encouragement: "Our old men have experience and the youngsters can grow up. If only we listen to the word of the Communist Party, we shall not go astray. We must achieve results and show them to all." These words of Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei inspired the enthusiasm of all. They said in agreement, "We are materially poor but not poor in will. From now on we will bear everything even if heaven falls on us." With all of one mind, they could move even Mount T'ai. Members of the "old-young team" helped and cared for one another. The old ones looked upon the youngsters as their own children. The young ones respected the old ones as if they were their own kin. When the children did not know how to do a farm job, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and the old men would help them by the hand. When the sheep lay down on the ground, the children kept watch on them at night and sometimes fell asleep. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei took off his own coat and covered them with it, keeping watch with them the whole night. In this way they fought side by side all the year round, silently waging struggle against the "strong-man team." In winter members of the "strong-man team" did not leave their homes, but those of the "old-young team" went out to tend their land, defying the severe cold. In the first lunar month men of the "strong-man team" were concerned with watching "bonfire" festivities, while those of the "old-young team" carried manure to the fields at an early date. In the busy season men of the "strong-man team," motivated by selfishness, quarreled among themselves, everyone wanted to have jobs done on his own land in time. When working on other people's land, one complained of too short intervals of rest and too many jobs to be done. When others worked on one's own land, he complained of their taking too long rests and doing too little work. In this way they often could not cooperate, so that they "come in spring, scatter in summer and disappear in autumn, mutual-aid in name but individual farming in fact." Members of the "old-young team" were exactly the opposite. They had the same thing in mind and exerted their efforts toward the same goal. No matter what the season was, the farm jobs of all members were centrally scheduled according to a time-table and their urgency. No matter working for which family, members always worked hard as if they were working on their own land, exerting the utmost effort and sweating freely, helping one another with one mind and all their strength. The "old-young team" fought and competed with the "strong-man team" for a whole year. Then, after autumn, the "old-young team" of "one-good, four poor" (good in thought but poor in land, labor, draft animals and farm implements) reaped an unprecedented bumper harvest, the average yield being 150 catties of grain per mow, whereas the "strong-man team" of "four-good, one-poor" (good land, labor, draft animals and farm implements but poor in thought) could harvest an average of only 120 catties of grain per mow. The broad masses, particularly members of the "old-young team," saw a truth

from practice: To walk Chairman Mao's road of "Be organized" is "the only way in which the people may be liberated and from being poor become rich." Many people wanted to join the "old-young team" and walk the road of wealth for all. By 1949, the "old-young team" grew to include 49 families. It became more and more prosperous and more and more consolidated, laying an ideological and organizational foundation for the realization of agricultural cooperation.

Embarking on the Road of Golden Light

When in the spring of 1952 the agricultural cooperative movement had just risen throughout the country, the Party branch and poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, actively responding to Chairman Mao's call for agricultural cooperation, immediately sent Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei to the district and hsien Party committees with the request for permission to form an agricultural producers cooperative. Permission was refused. The Party branch and poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai were nonplussed. They said, "Chairman Mao calls upon us to form cooperatives. Why people won't let us form one?" Firmly believing in Chairman Mao's word and resolutely wanting to walk the road indicated by him, they again sent Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei in the winter of that same year to the district and hsien Party committees with the same request. After going there several times and overcoming many difficulties, he succeeded in getting permission to form a cooperative. However, there was one proviso: he could form only a small cooperative of 30 families and no more. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was glad that his request had been granted, but he was sad because he was allowed to form only a small cooperative of no more than 30 families. The "old-young team" comprised 49 families. Which of them ought to be excluded from the new cooperative? In his perplexity Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei called a meeting of his poor brethren to discuss the problem. All were strongly agitated at the meeting. None would turn back, but insisted on joining the new cooperative. What should be done? The Party branch committee declared unanimously that a 49-family cooperative be formed. They said, "Forming cooperatives is called for by Chairman Mao. A few more families would not be wrong." Seeing that the masses were all for walking the socialist road, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said joyously, "Right! We will resolutely refuse to turn back. If the superior level wants to criticize, let me shoulder the responsibility. I'll make a self-examination." Thereupon a nominally 30-family but actually 49-family agricultural producers cooperative was formed in Tachai. In the summer of 1953 Chairman Mao criticized the bourgeois reactionary program of "consolidation of the new democratic order" put forward by Liu Shao-ch'i and proposed a general line of the Party in the transitional period, pointing out wisely, "So far as agriculture is concerned, the socialist road is the only road in our country." Chairman Mao's directive greatly inspired the enthusiasm of Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai to walk the socialist road. Their resolve to set up a cooperative was firmer than ever. In the first year of its establishment, the cooperative remarkably demonstrated its superiority. Per-mow output of grain reached 250 catties, 60 catties more than that harvested by mutual-aid

Teams in the village and much more than that harvested by individual households. The bumper harvest brought increased income for members of the cooperative, who were all elated and who all said that the agricultural cooperative was better than mutual-aid teams.

In this excellent situation Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, having consulted with the Party branch committee, decided to call a mass meeting, on the one hand to explain to the masses the advantages of agricultural cooperatives and call upon them to join the cooperative, and on the other hand make clear the Party's policy of unified procurement and marketing of grain and urge them to fulfill the task of state procurement of grain. When Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei talked about the current year's production of the cooperative, the audience was moved. They spoke with elation about the bumper harvest reaped by the cooperative. But "the trees desire stillness but the wind will not stop." At that moment a man stood up at a corner to speak. He said, "Have done with it! Let's not brag about the advantages of agricultural cooperatives. One mow yields only 250 catties of grain. Is that worth making a fuss about? I, an individual farmer, have produced 300 catties from one mow." Turning to look at the man, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei found that he was a long-time counter-revolutionary. The enemy had dashed out to make a challenge. It must be met. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei consulted briefly with the Party branch committee. To deal a blow at the class enemy and educate the masses, he decided to change the agenda of the meeting and temporarily stop discussing the advantages of the agricultural cooperative. Instead, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei announced the policy of unified procurement and marketing of grain. He said to the masses, "All agricultural cooperative, mutual-aid teams and individual farmers have reaped bumper harvests. That is very good. The Party branch believes that the task of unified procurement of grain, assigned to our village by the state for the first time, will surely be overfulfilled. In accordance with the policy, let each family now sell to the state its surplus grain on the basis of the harvest each family voluntarily reports."

Hearing this, the long-time counter-revolutionary collapsed like a deflated ball. He crouched in a corner and slapped his own face right and left, saying as he did so, "Mine is a bad mouth, an ass-hole. It is worthless. Instead of speaking, it gives off foul gas. Even counting the stalks, my per-mow output of grain is below 300 catties." The people, watching the groveling scoundrel, wanted to hate and laugh at him at the same time. They said to him, "What you have said about your harvest cannot be false. You must sell to the state your surplus grain calculated on the basis of the output you have reported." This unnerved the long-time counter-revolutionary even more. Weeping and sniffling, he anxiously begged all for forgiveness. Asked why he told a lie, he replied stammering, "I do not join the cooperative and object to others doing so. I am afraid to be alone if everyone else joins the cooperative, for then I shall not be able to go it alone. I told a lie because I wanted to upset you." Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei then said to him, "We Communists always insist on sticking to the facts

and oppose lying. What you have reaped cannot escape the eyes of the masses. If you want to lower your estimates, you'll have to admit your mistake to the masses from door to door, so your case may be discussed and handled by the masses." In this way the long-time counter-revolutionary taught the masses a lesson with a negative example, enabling the broad masses to realize further the advantages of agricultural cooperation. A high tide of joining the cooperative was whipped up in the village.

Even in the high tide of joining the cooperative, there was a vehement struggle, particularly as manifested in the question of joining the cooperative with one's land as a share. This is because the family who contributed the largest share of land would also receive the largest share of the crop. Some well-off middle peasants who made capital out of their large acreage and good quality land exaggerated and falsely reported the area of their land which formed their share in the cooperative. Noting this tendency, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei waged a struggle against them together with his poor brethren, but he was resisted. As a result, when it came to the apportionment of crops, the well-off middle peasants got the lion's share, while the poor and lower-middle peasants who had little land but offered much labor still found it hard to make a living. These poor and lower-middle peasants urgently hoped to see the elementary cooperative change to a higher cooperative.

In July 1955 Chairman Mao's brilliant work, "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," was published. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai cried and danced with joy. They said, "Chairman Mao is linked to us heart to heart. Every word he says comes from our own hearts." Guided by Chairman Mao's splendid directive, Tachai was the first elementary cooperative in Hsiyang county to become a higher cooperative in the winter of 1955.

Socialist revolution is "a revolution that aims to utterly bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation." The socialist transformation of agriculture changed the system of private ownership of means of production into a system of collective ownership, and was therefore a profound revolution. In this revolution there was an acute, complex struggle between two classes, two roads and two lines. The overthrown class enemy fanned an evil wind and kindled evil fires to make trouble and carry out sabotage, saying, "He who becomes rich by contributing land stares without seeing. He who eats by contributing cattle breaks his own rice bowl. He sticks up his bottom in order to live." Some well-off middle peasants imbued seriously with spontaneous ideas of capitalism also said, "The sorghum, when stripped, becomes a bare stalk. The black bean, ground, becomes bare kernel (man)." They resisted the change from a lower cooperative into a higher one. The value of domestic animals set by the cooperative was generally 10 percent higher than their market value, but they complained that it was too low. A well-off middle peasant had an animal which the cooperative valued at ¥40. He refused to accept that and sold it in the market place for only ¥18. Returning to the village, he claimed to have sold it for ¥60. They also declared, "No matter

how little you get, by selling your possessions you receive cash. No matter how much you are promised, by contributing your possessions to the cooperative as your share you get only a check that cannot be cashed." To wage struggle against them, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei bought a good mule in the market place with the ¥90 which he had saved over many years, and contributed it to the cooperative as his share. Thus he taught the masses a factual lesson and dealt a blow at the sabotage of the class enemy. Through acute, complex struggle and in-depth, careful work socialist transformation of agriculture was successfully accomplished. A higher cooperative was established, but prolonged, complex struggle was still to come. Agricultural cooperativization was only the beginning of new struggle.

Instigated and shielded by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, a small handful of bourgeois Rightists in society, taking advantage of the rectification in our Party, launched a bold, frenzied attack on the Party and socialism in the summer of 1957. At that juncture the class enemy and capitalist forces of Tachai also seized upon the opportunity to make moves. They let loose one poisoned arrow after another at the collective economy and at Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, the man to take the lead in walking the socialist road. They urgently wanted to disband the higher cooperative and restore capitalism. They said preposterously, "One who joins the cooperative is like an ox led by the nose by others. He is no longer master of himself. He cannot even sell his own surplus grain as he wishes." "Other people turn their arms inward, but Ch'en Yung-kuei perversely turned his outward. He has learned nothing except selling grain." "Ch'en Yung-kuei sells more grain so he may be a labor model, be publicly commended, and attend meetings in T'aiyuan where he can eat white bread" and so on. Also at that time the son of a rich peasant, feigning madness, did some counter-attacking and counter-reckoning, loudly crying that he would kill all cadres. A landlord element also yelled rabidly, "So long as Ch'en Yung-kuei does not die, people of Tachai cannot get rich." Two Communists, who had been liberated but forgot the fact, also echoed the cries of the class enemy. All of a sudden dark clouds gathered and evil wind rose in all directions.

The bold, frenzied attacks of the class enemy greatly roused the proletarian wrath of the broad masses of Communists and poor and lower-middle peasants. Comrades Sung Li-ying, Liang Pien-liang and Chao Ta-ho urgently demanded struggle against the class enemy. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants were also angered by the rabid yells of the class enemy. They said, "What nonsense are these scoundrels saying? They are too mad. Let's clobber them." Thereupon a mass debate unfolded in Tachai in which facts were placed on the table and arguments put forward. Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants actively stood up to speak and make criticism, tearing the class enemy and capitalist forces to pieces and making them stink. "Lamplight will not brighten unless the wick is turned up. Truth will not be clear without debate." As a result of the mass debate the broad masses were able to draw a line between the enemy and themselves and between right and wrong, and greatly increased their socialist consciousness. They dealt a heavy

blow to the sabotage activities of the class enemy, severely criticized the forces of capitalism, aroused to the maximum degree the socialist activism of the broad masses of cadres and cooperative members, whipped up an unprecedented high tide of farm land capital construction, got "the three battles of Langwochang" to a good start, and further consolidated the battle positions of socialism. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants said with confidence, "Regardless of lashing winds and buffeting waves, our course on the socialist road is set."

Embarking on the Bridge to Paradise in Big Strides

"Communism is paradise, and the people's commune is the bridge leading to it." In the vehement struggle between the two roads came the high tide of establishment of people's communes. At the 2nd session of the Party's 8th National Congress in May 1958, Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the Party's general line of "building socialism by exerting the utmost effort and pressing forward consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results." Under the brilliant light of the general line people's communes--a socialist newborn thing--appeared in our rural areas. A flourishing situation of big leap forward appeared in industrial and agricultural production throughout the country.

The general line, the big leap forward, and people's communes--these are manifestations of the great resolve and wisdom of the hard-working, courageous 650,000,000 people of our country. They are a product of the union of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution creatively brought about by Chairman Mao, the great leader of our Party and our people of all nationalities. Led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, holding high the "three red banners," marched forward bravely. In the fall of 1958 Tachai joined forces with surrounding fraternal teams in establishing the first people's commune of Hsiyang county, thus whipping up a high tide of the big forward. Alarmed by the revolutionary torrent, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang came out into the open and rabidly oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, vigorously opposed the "three red banners," and fanned the "communist wind," "wind of extravagance," and "wind of blind directing of production." When this reactionary current came, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, resolutely resisted and struggled against it.

Influenced by the "communist wind" fanned by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, Ch'engkuan commune decided to set up a "10,000-head pig farm." What could the commune do to set up a pig farm when it had no labor power for it, no pigs and no feed? It could get these in equal shares from the production brigades. Accordingly "orders for requisition of pigs," "orders for requisition of feed," and "orders for requisition of labor" came down one after another. When these "orders" came to Tachai (which belonged to Ch'engkuan commune at that time), they were resisted.

Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said to responsible officers of the commune: "It's not that Tachai is unwilling to give the commune a few pigs, a few catties of grain, and a few men, but we refuse to carry out your erroneous line of 'grabbing chickens when you have no chickens and grabbing dogs when you have no dogs.' What you are doing will not increase social wealth, but will kill the socialist activism of the masses instead. This is not in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

Under the light of the "three red banners," Tachai reaped a big bumper harvest in agricultural production in 1958. The per-mow yield of grain reached 543 catties, crossing the "Yellow River," an increase of 67 percent compared with the per-mow yield of 320 catties of 1957. A single year's rate of increase was better than that of the past more than ten years. The big leap forward of agricultural production clearly demonstrated the superiority of the people's commune.

That winter Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei attended a conference of labor models called by the province. Members of the commune said gleefully, "This time our Tachai will surely look like Chang Fei's face--all covered with whiskers /glory/." But the conference was under the influence of the "wind of extravagance," and Tachai, whose output was factually reported, failed to win a place in the roll of honor. One of the leadership cadres who followed the erroneous current then came to Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and said to him, "In view of the fact that Tachai is an old advanced unit, it would be better if you alter your reported output." He wanted to induce Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei to change the per-mow output to 2,000 catties. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was outraged. That night, he rolled in his bed and could not go to sleep, thinking about many things. He thought of his miserable childhood, his rescue by Chairman Mao from the sea of suffering, his bringing up by the Party, the trust put in him by the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai.... He resolved to be honest to the Party, not to falsify reports, and absolutely not to change the reported figures no matter what. The next day he again reported Tachai's per-mow output as 543 catties. The leadership cadre was displeased. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said to him, "I report what we have produced. To report 2,000 catties when it is only 500 is to deceive Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Being a Party member, I will not falsify things. Moreover, our grain output is known to all landlords, rich peasants and bad elements of the village. If I tell a lie, the poor and lower-middle peasants will not be pleased and the class enemy may find a weak spot in our armor." These words had the cadre rebuffed. At the time some well-intentioned people warned Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei not to talk back to the superior leadership, lest he should bring trouble on himself. Someone also said, "It is said that many prizes will be given away this year. They include not only chemical fertilizer, but automobiles too." He meant to persuade Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei to alter his reported figure. But no matter what others said, they could not shake his resolve. He said to them that he would not feel proud if he made the honor roll, nor would he be dejected if he did not, but that he would never fraudulently win honor by telling lies. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's spirit of adhering to fact and being

responsible to the Party and the people greatly moved those who attended the conference.

Not long after the spring festival Ch'engkuan commune called a meeting of village cadres, at which it was decided to hold a "hole digging" competition called a competition of two oxen locking horns. The object was to prepare the land for "hole sowing." "Holes" for corn were to be dug first. When it was time for sowing, all that needed to be done was to put the seed corn in the holes. In the competition, every two villages formed a pair, that was why it was called two oxen locking horns. The village that dug more holes would be the winner and the village that dug less would be the loser. The loser would have to give the winning village one pig. Tachai's competitor was Houchuang village. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was attending a meeting in Yangch'uan at the time. As soon as he heard of the competition he said it was directing in blindness. He immediately said to a responsible officer of the commune who was attending the same meeting, "Digging 'holes' is unsuitable so far as our Tachai is concerned. We will not dig any. We concede defeat in the lock horn competition. I'll send a pig in a cart, together with a red banner, to Houchuang, and that's all." He then hurriedly returned to the village and led commune members in leveling and destroying the holes already dug and in actively preparing the land and applying fertilizer, resolutely repelling the wind of blindly directing production.

In the period from 1959 through 1962, when owing to three years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade group our national economy encountered temporary difficulties, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang again fanned the capitalist evil wind of "san-tzu i-pao." Under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, a black wind of "cut white grass, engage in black market activities, work on small plots" rose in Hsiyang hsien, blowing everything into a mess. At the time the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai realized that something was wrong. Led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, they worked against the black wind. In some places people energetically worked on small plots and enlarged their private plots. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai did nothing of the kind, but worked on land that belonged to the collective. In some places "white grass" was cut for sale at a high price. They sold rice stalk at a price set by the state. In some places black markets flourished. They combated black market activity with the strength of the collective economy.

At that time a man who engaged in profiteering came to Tachai one day to buy rice stalk. The man met Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and said straightaway, "The price can be negotiated. Would ¥0.20 a catty do? I'll pay more if you think it too low." Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said to him coldly, "We have plenty of rice stalk in Tachai, but nothing of the kind that sells for ¥0.20 a catty." With that he resolutely dismissed the man. On another occasion, an old leader of a fraternal brigade came to Tachai to see Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, saying that his brigade lacked grass feed which would affect spring plowing because the cattle would not

be adequately fed, and asking to buy some rice stalk. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei received him cordially. That evening he asked the visitor, "How much rice stalk do you need?" The old brigade leader said, "You do not have much yourselves. Let us have 5,000 catties. More if you can spare it." Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei asked, "Would 10,000 catties be enough? If that's not enough, we can sell you some more." The old brigade leader, overjoyed, cried, "That's quite enough, quite enough!" Then he asked Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei how much that would amount to. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said, "Three fen a catty. It's the price set by the state." The old brigade leader said, "That won't do. Others sell at tens of fen a catty. How can you take only 3 fen? You've already done us a favor by selling. Don't ask for a lower price." Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said, "Old comrade, you are wrong there. Your brigade has difficulty and we are duty-bound to help. It will not be socialism if instead of supporting each other one production brigade exploits another. To sell at tens of fen is asking for a high price. It's capitalism. Think about it. If Tachai asks for a high price, would it still be carrying out socialism?" This was subsequently known widely, and some people called Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei a "fool" who "sells at a price of 3 fen when he could have asked for 20." To these people Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei resolutely answered, "I'm quite willing to be such a fool." In this way the people of Tachai fought against capitalism. In the brief period in which the evil wind of capitalism howled and raged, Tachai sold altogether 50,000 catties of grass feed and rice chaff at a low price and moreover loaned over 70,000 catties of grain to fraternal brigades which were experiencing difficulty. They repaid Tachai with grain when they had it. When they had none to spare, they paid back in cash at the rate set by the state for its purchase of surplus grain. Cart after cart of rice stalk, rice chaff and grain went from Tachai to the fraternal brigades, but they carried not only grain and grass, but something far more valuable--the socialist thought of the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai.

It was also at this time that some people, taking advantage of the supplies exchange fair then held in the hsien town of Hsiyang, made much money by selling meals at high prices in the street. Seeing this, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was filled with anger. He returned to Tachai and consulted the cadres and Party members. He said, "The evil wind of capitalism is blowing so furiously at the supplies exchange fair. Shouldn't we do something?" The Party members asked what they could do about it. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said, "They sell meals at a high price. We will sell meals at a low price. They sell their buns at ¥1 a catty. We will sell ours at ¥0.20. Won't that confound them?" They all agreed to give a rival show against capitalism. Accordingly 500 catties of white flour was allotted to the families to be made into buns that night. The following day these were carried to the town to counter capitalism. The capitalists shouted their buns were ¥1 a catty. The Party members of Tachai cried, "Buns are ¥0.20 a catty!" They did this for two days, completely upsetting the evil wind of capitalism. Taking the opportunity of selling meals at low prices, the Party members of Tachai enthusiastically acquainted the people with the great

changes taking place in Tachai, publicized the advantages of the people's commune, and encouraged people to resist resolutely the evil wind of capitalism. The incident caused a sensation in the whole town of Hsiyang. The profiteers lashed at the men of Tachai, saying they had done nothing good but would always make trouble for others. To this the people of Tachai replied loudly, "Yes, we'll make trouble for those engaged in capitalist activity. We'll strike at them."

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei led the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai in a resolute struggle against capitalist forces. Holding high the three red banners of the general line, big leap forward and people's commune, they marched in big strides on the road of socialism.

Red Flag Flies in Furious Storm

At the 10th session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party in in September 1962, Chairman Mao issued to the whole Party, whole army and whole country the great call: "Never forget class struggle," and put forward our Party's basic line for the whole historical phase of socialism. Responding to Chairman Mao's call, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai firmly upheld the Party's basic line and launched an attack against the bourgeoisie, greatly stimulating the activism of the masses of commune members in socialist revolution and socialist construction. While they were striving for even greater victory with revolutionary fervor in their hearts, a destructive flood occurred.

In the summer of 1963 all Tiger's Head Mountain was covered with a green blanket of late fall crops--a joyous scene that promised a bumper harvest. Then all of a sudden came a rainstorm which lasted seven days and nights from August 2 through August 8. A total of 700 mm of rainfall was recorded, more than a whole year's rainfall in a normal year. As a result of the heavy downpour, mountain torrents burst. Muddy waters roared down the seven gullies of Tiger's Head Mountain. Wherever the torrents went they cut the roads, caused dikes to collapse, carried away the topsoil, submerged the crops or caused them to lodge. Topsoil was carried away from 139 mow. Crops on 41 mow lodged or were buried deep in a layer of mud. Of the 270 resident houses and caves in the village, 190 collapsed and 63 were found with cracks and uninhabitable. Only 17 houses and caves were still habitable. Of the more than 80 families, 78 were rendered homeless.

During the seven days and nights of incessant rainfall and swelling torrents, the Party branch of Tachai organized an emergency team which led the commune members in a struggle in the rain for seven days and nights. Over 30 Party and CYL members and backbone militiamen, led by Comrades Chia Ch'eng-jang, Chia Lai-heng, Liang Pien-liang and Chao Ta-ho risked their own lives in carrying out rescue operations, carrying out people from houses and caves that were in imminent danger of collapse and rescuing animals and collective and individual grain stocks and other property, enabling commune members of Tachai to pass the seven

days and nights safely. Take the case of Comrade Chia Ch'eng-jang, for example. His own cave home collapsed with his old mate trapped inside, but what was uppermost in his mind was how to rescue commune members from danger. It was only after he had brought all other commune members to safety that he went back to rescue his old mate. Led by the cadres, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai, united as one man, waged struggle against the flood. As most of the houses and caves were now uninhabitable, owners of the several more solidly built houses voluntarily vacated them in favor of women in labor and those who were ill, while they themselves and the rest crowded into the brigade's offices and the food processing rooms.

At that very difficult moment the commune members wanted very much to have Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei with them. But he was in town to attend a meeting and was prevented from coming back by a swollen Sunghsi River. For seven days and nights he fidgeted and fretted in town. He wanted to make a telephone call to the village, but the telephone wire was broken. He was so anxious that as soon as the rain stopped, he risked his life by crossing the rapidly flowing river on foot and went home. His first question after his return to the village was: "Are are people safe?" Learning that all were safely out of danger, he said encouragingly, "That is very good news. With the people safe, we have the strength to fight the disaster." On the one hand he comforted the commune members ; on the other hand he led them to struggle against the disaster.

Heaven and earth are great, but they are no greater than the Party's kindness. After disaster befell Tachai, the Party Central Committee and Party organizations at provincial, district and hsien levels sent comfort missions to the brigade. Letters came like snow flakes from all parts of the country. In the first day after the rainstorm passed, a telephone call came from the commune headquarters saying that the state had appropriated a sum of money for medical care for disaster-stricken commune members of Tachai. The next day another sum of money was appropriated for setting up temporary shelter for commune members. Seeing the concern shown by the Party and the state, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei asked himself: should they rely on state relief or on their own strength in overcoming the effects of the disaster? He recalled the road he had walked in the past decade and came to this conclusion: "The destructive flood disaster cannot be overcome by relying solely on state relief." Thereupon Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei called a meeting of the Party branch and its committee to study Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao said, "On what basis should our guidelines be placed? They should be placed on the basis of our own strength. That is called self-reliance." "We are for self-reliance. We hope to get foreign aid, but we cannot rely on it. We rely on our own effort, on the creativeness of the whole Army and the people." Chairman Mao's teaching points out the direction of advance. Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei said, "The more difficult the situation is, the more firmly we must maintain the guideline of self-reliance and fighting amid hardship. The relief money and supplies given us by the state should go to units in still greater difficulties. We have the

strength and the means to heal the wounds left by the disaster." With the mind of Party members and cadres unified, a mass meeting was called to explain the ten advantages of self-reliance. The poor and lower-middle peasants declared, "We all have a red heart and two hands of iron. We will rebuild the houses which have fallen and repair the fields that have been damaged. The disaster has destroyed the old Tachai, but we have the strength to build a new Tachai." Mobilized, the masses resolutely wanted to walk the road of self-reliance. The Party branch returned the relief money and relief supplies sent by the state on four occasions and put forward an inspiring target of struggle of "3 do not ask" and "3 no less." The "3 do not ask" was not to ask the state for grain, for money, for supplies. The "3 no less" was: in the current year sell no less grain to the state, distribute no less food grain to commune members, make no less collective income. The slogan of "3 do not ask" and "3 no less" greatly inspired the activism of the commune members in the struggle against disaster. In accordance with the principle of "take care of the land first and the houses afterward," they righted the lodged crops and repaired the land in the day, and at night gathered materials for building houses. Men and women, old and young, all went up the front, enduring the blazing sun in the day and working under the moon and the stars at night. No one uttered a single complaint. Kuo Feng-lien, who had just finished higher primary school and turned 16, quite distinguished herself in the struggle. Together with Chao Su-lan, another daughter of a poor peasant, she took the lead in organizing a young girls shock team who followed the older people in wind and rain and fought in the most difficult places. The old poor peasants, seeing their revolutionary aggressiveness, said with pleasure, "These small lasses of ours are like figures of iron. Let's call you iron girls." After that the young girls shock team was renamed iron girls team. This was how the nationally famous iron girls team of Tachai got its name. Thanks to the hard struggle, a good harvest was reaped in a year of disaster. Per-mow grain output was 742 catties, a drop of only 4 percent compared with the previous year. Surplus grain sold to the state amounted to 240,000 catties, not a single catty less than that sold the previous year. Over 400 catties of food grain was distributed to each commune member, also no less than that distributed the previous year. Total income from agriculture, forestry, animal breeding and sideline production actually increased slightly compared with the previous year. The target of struggle of "3 do not ask" and "3 no less" was really fulfilled. The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fighting amid hardship encouraged the people of Tachai to go forward courageously. The following year after the disaster per-mow output of grain crossed the "Yangtze," reached 809 catties. After two years and more of work, all the damaged land was repaired. A new village was built after more than three years of work. Chairman Mao's splendid idea of "self-reliance and fight amid hardship" demonstrated its great force in Tachai. In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." The red banner of Tachai, personally raised by Chairman Mao, flies high on top of Tiger's Head Mountain.

In the same year when Chairman Mao issued the great call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," a socialist education movement developed in the cities and the countryside all over the country. At this time Tachai again developed a vehement struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, chopping the red flag and defending the red flag. In the winter of 1964 a work team came to Tachai. The team opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, faithfully carried out Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of "false 4-clean-up, real restoration," and energetically peddled Wang Kuang-mei's "T'ao-yuan experience." As soon as it arrived in the village it "struck root and formed alliances," putting forward the slogan, "Rely on those who disagree with the cadres." Allying itself with class enemies and disreputable people in society, the team spread erroneous ideas of all kinds, saying preposterously, "The more advanced a unit is, the greater its problem; the more advanced a unit is, the more it should be looked upon with suspicion" and "The pole from which the red flag of Tachai flies is eaten by worms. Unless it is rid of these worms, the red flag will fall." It kicked aside the Party branch, seized the Party, governmental, financial and cultural powers, and regarded all cadres of Tachai as "4 not-clean" cadres and target of "rectification." It persecuted the cadres of Tachai by unscrupulously fabricating charges against them. Its first means was "making up." Matters that were not problems were arbitrarily made up as such. The second means was deception. It sowed enmity among the cadres and between the cadres and the masses, speaking ill of one person to another behind his back, and induced the masses by means of material incentives to fabricate charges against the cadres, saying, "Do your job well, and you will be given a share of the things confiscated, far more than what you got from the land reform." The third means was coercion. Cadres and commune members were forced to lie and make up false information.

At that crucial juncture when the work team was brutally persecuting the cadres of Tachai, great leader Chairman Mao personally received in audience Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, who was then in Peking attending the 1st session of the 3rd NPC. In his "Government Work Report" at the 3rd NPC, Premier Chou En-lai urged the people of the country to learn the spirit of Tachai. The close concern shown by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and their support gave the people of Tachai endless, inexhaustible strength and firmed up their confidence and determination in struggling against the erroneous line to the end. As soon as Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei returned from attending the meeting in Peking, he led the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members in launching a struggle against the work team. What they thought of was not their own safety, but rather perseverance in the socialist direction and defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. One day the work team held a meeting and had the evil ware of "T'ao-yuan experience" written on a blackboard. Kuo Feng-lien and several other "iron girls" ran up and had it wiped clean, and wrote on it instead a quotation from Chairman Mao: "The force at the core that leads our cause is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis that guides our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." At the meeting the work team talked extensively about the "T'ao-yuan experience." Old poor peasant Chia Ch'eng-lu, his anger rising as he heard the talk, was the

first to walk out. The work team threatened him, saying, "Anyone who opposes the 'T'ao-yuan experience' is a counter-revolutionary." Chia Ch'eng-lu retorted by saying, "You cannot beat a revolutionary into a counter-revolutionary." He then left in a huff without looking back. This broke up the meeting to promote the "T'ao-yuan experience." The Communists and poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai realize from the practice of struggle that no matter who you are, how high your "official" position is, and how great your power, if only your words and actions do not conform to the thought of Mao Tse-tung or Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, you will be resolutely resisted and struggled against. Thus they waged a face-to-face argumentative struggle against the work team, righteously and sternly refuting its various charges against the cadres of Tachai:

Were the cadres of Tachai "worms" in the red-flag pole? Were they "rats" in the granary? These were entirely fabricated charges. We cadres of Tachai are the standard-bearers of Tachai wholly dedicated to making revolution and doing everything for the collective. There is no "4 not-clean" in any way. Your charges that we were "worms in the red-flag pole" and "rats in the granary" were fabrications from beginning to end.

Our Tachai is an advanced unit. That is a fact. It is unavoidable that in their work the cadres may have this or that shortcoming, but nothing of the kind as you described. You said, "The more advanced a unit is, the greater its problem; the more advanced a unit is, the more it should be looked upon with suspicion." Your intention was malevolent. Your attitude toward socialism was questionable. Our problem was not "greater." Our cadres did not need your "suspicion."

Our Tachai has not formulated a policy of our own and has never gone against policy. Distribution of grain in the past several years was made on the basis of the level of production development, and "percentages were set according to individual needs." In this way, the livelihood needs of every member is met and members who have done more labor may get a larger share of grain, so that every family may have enough to eat and to spare. Is that contravention of policy? Our grain is distributed after it has been dried in the sun. It is reasonable not to make a further allowance for moisture. Is that wrong? Why did you say that was "a policy formulated by Tachai itself"?

By clearing snow and building roads for visitors to Tachai, our cadres take part in labor. Why should that not be recorded as such? Why should the recording of such labor be labeled "4 not-clean"? If this is a "crime," should such jobs be done in the future? If they are to be done, who should do them, you or we?

Through this face-to-face argumentative struggle, the work team was confuted and silenced.

In January 1965 Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of "Some Problems Currently Raised in the Rural Socialist Education Movement" (or "The 23 Articles"), severely censuring the nominally "Left" but actually Right bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. He pointed out clearly: "Emphasis of the current movement is on rectification of those power-holders in the Party who walk the capitalist road," and righting the direction of the socialist education movement. Under the direct concern of the Party Central Committee not long after that, the "4 clean-up" work team of Tachai was reorganized. The socialist education movement in Tachai, completely following the provisions of "The 23 Articles," moved forward healthily and scored a great victory. Through this struggle between slashing the red flag and defending it, the consciousness of the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai in class struggle and line struggle became higher, their eyes were brighter and their resolve to oppose restoration was greater than ever. They said with great heroic confidence, "Our walking of the socialist road cannot be all plain sailing. But we firmly believe that victory will surely belong to us so long as we persevere in making revolution and marching forward."

Hold Up Red Banner, Continue To Make Revolution

In 1966 the mighty great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by great leader Chairman Mao, began. In this great revolutionary campaign the people of Tachai, marching forward in the storm and walking on huge waves, scored a great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, pushing the socialist revolution and socialist construction of Tachai onto a brand-new stage.

When there is oppression there will be resistance; where oppression is hardest, resistance will be most vehement. For many years Liu Shao-ch'i's gang had persecuted Tachai in various ways. Particularly during the time when Liu Shao-ch'i carried out "false 4-clean-up, real restoration," they persecuted Tachai all the more fiercely. They vainly attempted to cut down the red flag of Tachai which Chairman Mao had personally raised. Hence the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai cherished strong proletarian hatred toward Liu Shao-ch'i's gang. As soon as the bugle of the great proletarian cultural revolution was sounded they, led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei and holding high the revolutionary banner of "It is justifiable to rebel against the reactionaries," rushed to the first line of the great class fight. Led by Comrade Kuo Feng-lien, the younger generation of Tachai also organized themselves into Red Guards and stood on the forefront of struggle.

In the early period of the great proletarian cultural revolution Liu Shao-ch'i's gang fanned an evil wind of "Doubt everything, strike down everything." At that time some people with ulterior motives came to Tachai, crying, "Tachai is not an advanced unit. It's a spurious red banner" and "Ch'en Yung-kuei is not a labor model but a capitalist-roader," and frantically yelling, "Drag out Ch'en Yung-kuei and struggle against him" and "Strike down Ch'en Yung-kuei!" One day, when these people were making a fuss and turning the village into pandemonium, Kuo Feng-lien with some

Red Guards returned from work in the fields. Angered by their impudence, Kuo Feng-lien and her Red Guards waged an argumentative struggle against them, saying with just indignation, "The road we of Tachai walk is the socialist road. The things we do are socialist things. The red banner of Tachai was personally raised by Chairman Mao himself. How is it that it has become a spurious red banner? For more than 20 years Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei has been consistently leading us in building socialism in a big way. How is it that he has become a capitalist-roader?" They argued with these people from the house to the courtyard and from the courtyard to the street. The more they argued, the higher their spirit; the more they struggled, the higher their fighting morale. In the face of ironclad facts the trouble makers were refuted and reduced to silence. Staring in silence, they went away downcast. But they did not give up. When Kuo Feng-lien was in the fields carrying stones, they followed her there, picked a stone of large size and pressed it on her back, saying malignantly, "Aren't you called Iron Girl? We'll make you tell again the history of the growth of the Iron Girl." As they were carrying on outrageously, some poor and lower-middle peasants shouted, "Stop! China is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the working people are masters of the country. Why are you so extremely hostile to the working people? To which class do you belong and for which class you are speaking?" In front of the just and stern poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, they could do nothing but slip away.

In August 1966 Chairman Mao personally directed the holding of the Party's 11th Plenum of the 8th Central Committee, at which he made public his poster, "Fire the cannon at command headquarters," uncovering the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and the proletarian command HQ and bourgeois command HQ which had long been existing in the Party, profoundly exposing the substance of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line, and issuing to the whole Party, the whole PLA and the people of the whole country the great fighting order to destroy utterly the bourgeois command HQ headed by Liu Shao-ch'i. Closely following Chairman Mao's great stratgic plan, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei led the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai in whipping up a high tide of criticism against the bourgeois reactionary line. In winter that year they formed a revolutionary great alliance with the revolutionary mass organizations of Hsiyang hsien, and on February 11, 1967, seized the Party, governmental, financial and cultural powers from a handful of capitalist-roaders within the hsien Party committee. On April 8, Hsiyang hsien revolutionary committee was inaugurated, and Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei was elected chairman of the revolutionary committee by the revolutionary mass organizations.

After the inauguration of Hsiyang hsien revolutionary committee, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei led the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai and the revolutionary people of the whole hsien in severely criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line of "doubting everything, striking down everything" and "hitting a large mass to protect a small handful." He went to the 20 communes in the hsien and most of the production brigades to mobilize the masses, rely on them, liberate the cadres and set up new

leadership squads, greatly promoting the development of the situation of revolution in Hsiyang hsien. Summing up the experience of Hsiyang, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei wrote a report to the Party Central Committee on the liberation of cadres, in which he said what was in the hearts of the basic level cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants. The Party Central Committee commented on Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei's report and had it transmitted to every part of the country, making a contribution to the great cultural revolution.

No reactionary forces will voluntarily bow out of the stage of history. While the great proletarian cultural revolution was making progress healthily in Tachai and Hsiyang, frauds like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and a small handful of class enemies in society again carried out sabotage and made trouble by taking advantage of bourgeois sectarianism. On the one hand they maliciously and slanderously attacked Tachai, freely making counter-revolutionary public opinion. On the other hand they went to Tachai and Hsiyang to agitate for a split and incite violent struggle. They said preposterously, "It is not normal for Tachai and Hsiyang not to split into two factions," "Absence of violent struggle in Tachai and Hsiyang is incomprehensible," "The cultural revolution in Tachai and Hsiyang is drab and lifeless, like 'a pool of stagnant water,'" and so on.

The fanning of evil wind and kindling of evil fires by class enemies behind our back could not harm a single hair of Tachai, but served to heighten a hundred times the revolutionary vigilance of the people of Tachai instead. Standing together with the people of the whole hsien, the Party members, poor and lower-middle peasants and Red Guard youngsters who were trained in the storm of class struggle sternly disposed of these preposterous utterances and waged a tit-for-tat argumentative struggle against them.

Was it "not normal" for Tachai and Hsiyang not to have been divided into two factions? The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai said that so far as Tachai and Hsiyang were concerned, there had always been two factions, one of which comprised a small handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and the other poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad mass of working people. Our faction exercises dictatorship over the faction of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. That is called dictatorship of the proletariat. The other faction, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists had always hoped that our faction would come to pieces and split up, so they might fish in muddled waters and have an opportunity to turn heaven upside down. But they could never bring that about. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Within the working class there is basically no conflict of interests. There is no reason why, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class must be divided into two hostile factions." We poor and lower-middle peasants did not split into two major factions, and that was in conformity with Chairman Mao's teaching. It was not "not normal," but quite normal.

Was it "incomprehensible" that Tachai and Hsiyang were not engaged in violent struggle? The poor and lower-middle peasants said, "We comprehend very well what you do not." Chairman Mao taught us, "In realizing this great revolution, it is necessary to wage civil struggle, not violent struggle." Our Tachai and Hsiyang did not engage in violent struggle--that was in conformity with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Your failure to comprehend that was determined by the essential nature of your class. Problems could never be comprehended if you looked at them from the bourgeois reactionary stand.

Was the great cultural revolution in Tachai and Hsiyang "drab" and "lifeless"? The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai said: Since the great cultural revolution, we resolutely responded to Chairman Mao's great call, "You must concern yourselves with the important affairs of state, and carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution." Using the "4 major" weapons, we developed revolutionary mass criticism, massively uncovering old records of Liu Shao-ch'i's restoration of capitalism and his revisionist line. Was that "drab and lifeless"? In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, "Grasp revolution, promote production, work and preparedness against war," our workers did not leave their factories, our peasants did not leave their villages, the militiamen did not go to the cities to engage in violent struggle, and students went back to class to make revolution. What was wrong with that? If this was called "a pool of stagnant water" and "drab and lifeless," would refusal to grasp revolution and promote production and energetic indulgence in sectarianism and violent struggle be called "lively" and "a vast sheet of red flame"? We would not have such liveliness, because it ran counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

No matter how the class enemy fanned the wind and kindled fires, and no matter how people working for bourgeois sectarianism made trouble and carried out sabotage, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai firmly maintained from beginning to end the key link of class struggle. Struggling against furious windstorms and fearful waves, they advanced on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In April 1969 the Party's 9th National Congress was triumphantly held. Chairman Mao issued the great call, "Be united, strive for still greater victory!" The scheme of reactionary forces to create division, incite violent struggle and ruin Tachai and Hsiyang went completely bankrupt. However, the road of revolution is not straight. When the people of Tachai, guided by the line of unity and victory of the Party's 9th Congress, were marching forward in big strides, they were also in a serious situation of facing another rabid counter-attack by the bourgeoisie. Encouraged by Lin Piao's revisionist line, the class enemy and bourgeois agents who had infiltrated the Party again energetically opposed the red banner of Tachai. They attacked Tachai by making a large number of extremely malignant political rumors against it. Realizing very well that they would not be able to cut down the red banner of Tachai without cutting down the standard-bearers on Tiger's Head Mountain, they made Ch'en Yung-kuei, Kuo Feng-lien, Liang Pien-liang and others objects of

their persecution. But real gold is not afraid of tempering with fire, and the heroic people of Tachai are not afraid of the test of struggle. Led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants, defying head winds and fighting a horde of devils, fought in the fields by day and criticized revisionism by night, struggling against the class enemies with revolutionary practical action. In August 1970 the State Council called an agricultural conference of northern regions at Hsiyang, at which the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao once again affirmed the direction and road of Tachai. Thus the criminal plot to brand Tachai as a "black nest" was utterly defeated. On the eve of the 2nd plenary session of the Party's 9th Central Committee, Ch'en Po-ta, a principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and an anti-communist old hand, came out in person in battle dress and made scores of deletions from the "Resolution of Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture" which was approved by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao for nationwide distribution by the agricultural conference of Northern regions, altering it beyond recognition. By revising the document, he vigorously slashed the red banner of Tachai. He forbade the mention that "Tachai is a red banner personally raised on the agricultural front by our great leader Chairman Mao" and mention of "Ceaselewsly arm the broad peasant masses with the invincible Mao Tsetung thought." But all reactionaries would come to no good end. A few days afterward the counter-revolutionary face of old anti-communist Ch'en Po-ta was completely uncovered.

In 1971 the "September 13" incident occurred. Bourgeois careerist, schemer, double-dealer, renegade and traitor Lin Piao went over to the enemy in betrayal of his country and died in a crash in a desert. The anti-Party clique headed by Lin Piao was completely uncovered. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the whole nation developed a furious criticize-Lin and rectification campaign. At that moment there appeared in Shansi an adverse current of restoration of capitalism, with the spearhead pointed again at Tachai and Hsiyang. Instead of "criticizing Lin and criticizing Ch'en," they "criticized the ultra-'Left'," calling Tachai a representative of the ultra-"Leftist" thought-trend, saying preposterously that "Tachai has gone too far these few years," that "its strides were too big," that it had "contravened the current system and policy of the people's commune," that this was "the fanaticism of the petty bourgeoisie" and that it "wanted to enter into communism in a single morning," and also saying that Tachai "does not represent Shansi by cutting mountains to create land," and so on. Amid these clamors such capitalist evil ware as "production first," "work-point in command," "san-tzu i-pao," and "4 big freedoms," already criticized till they stank in the great cultural revolution, surfaced again from the dregs at the bottom. It was also at this time that someone supported and approved a revival of "Ascending Mount Peach Thrice," a Shansi opera which sang the praise of "T'ao-yuan experience" that opposed the road of Tachai, sending it back onto the stage amid fast beating of gongs and drums, and openly negating the great cultural revolution and invoking the departed spirit of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In this struggle between revolution and restoration, progress and regression, the Party members and poor and lower-middle

peasants of Tachai threw themselves into the fray with fearless revolutionary spirit. Holding up Lin Piao's "Outline of 'Project 571'" as a target, they earnestly read books and studied, went to the front to make criticism enthusiastically, severely criticized the monstrous crime of Lin Piao's anti-Party clique of plotting to murder great leader Chairman Mao, criticized the ultra-Rightist substance of its revisionist line, and carried out determined struggle against the evil wind of capitalism that had risen in Shansi. Against the reactionaries' criticism of ultra-"Left," Tachai and Hsiyang opposed the Rightist trend, exerted efforts vigorously, and continued to advance. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai said, "By criticizing Lin substantially, we walk a wider and wider socialist road. We will never go backward and never suffer again the miseries we once suffered. It is not we who 'want to enter into communism in a single morning,' but Lin Piao who wanted to restore capitalism in a single morning. The more they criticize ultra-'Left,' the more we will oppose the Rightist trend. The more somebody puts the car in reverse gear, the faster we will drive forward, pulling the train of socialism with us. The more vigorously they revile us, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai will be all the more determined to build socialism in a big way." In the raging fire of criticize-Lin and rectification, the heroic people of Tachai made revolution in the "spongy" fields, firing the first shot in the battle to create plain land by moving mountains to fill the gullies. In August 1973 the Party's 10th Congress announced the utter collapse of the ultra-Rightist line of restoration and regression of Lin Piao's anti-Party clique. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai won a victory in the criticize-Lin and rectification campaign, effectively rebuffing the capitalist evil wind that had risen in Shansi.

Personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, a criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius campaign was launched nationwide in 1974. Led by Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai again fought their way to a new battlefield. They severely criticized Lin Piao for following a reactionary program of "self-restraint and restoration of propriety" of Confucius, and made vigorous revolution in the domain of the superstructure. In relation to the realities, they criticized the bad axioms, bad proverbs, bad songs, bad signboards, bad couplets, bad murals, bad stories and bad plays that sold Confucian ideas. They changed old customs and old habits, and criticized the way of Confucius and Mencius with practical action. Through criticize-Lin and criticize-Confucius, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members deeply realized that the way of Confucius and Mencius was a way of restoration, a harmful, cheating and man-eating way. Without thoroughly criticizing the way of Confucius and Mencius, it would be impossible to eradicate the social and ideological basis on which all reactionaries, domestic and foreign, hoped to carry out restoration in China.

Early in 1975 great leader Chairman Mao made an important directive concerning theoretical problems. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "Why did Lenin speak of dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This

question must be made clear. If it is not made clear, it will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole country," the Party branch of Tachai led the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in earnestly studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat with reference to the history of struggle of Tachai of more than 20 years. They formed a theory study group, earnestly read books and studied, striving to master thoroughly the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of combination of theory with practice. By applying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, they summed up in depth the experience of Tachai of more than 20 years in firmly maintaining class struggle as the key link, in implementing the Party's basic line, in criticizing revisionism and capitalism in a big way, in insisting on educating and remolding small producers, in ceaselessly limiting bourgeois rights, in creating conditions for removing the soil that nurtured capitalism and narrowing the three major differences, in ceaselessly strengthening total dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and in building socialist agriculture in a big way, so that all might realize more clearly that without revolutionary theory there would be no revolutionary movement, and that to continue to make revolution and advance ceaselessly, it was imperative to study well and thoroughly understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai said: Studying well and thoroughly understanding the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat would dig up the ancestral tomb of capitalism, cut the old root of revisionism, build a Great Wall of socialism, and bring up communist new men. Only by mastering the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be direction for revolution and motive force for progress, and the line be rectified. Only by so doing will it be possible, in the interwoven and complex struggle, to maintain firmly the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consciously effect the most thorough rupture with the relations and ideas of the traditional system of ownership. Through study of theory, summing up of experience, and criticism of revisionism, they further realized that progress would be possible only by daring to expose and struggle, and that failure to expose and struggle would lead to revisionism. Accordingly, from the level of the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat they further exposed new contradictions in the continuing revolution, looked for new problems in the way of progress, and threw themselves into new fighting with new ideas, a new attitude and new measures.

While the study of the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat was making progress gradually in depth, an editorial in Jen-min Jih-pao of September 4 transmitted Chairman Mao's directive and comment on Water Margin. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The good thing in the book Water Margin is its capitulationism. It serves as a lesson by negative example, enabling the people to know the capitulationists." Led by the Party branch, the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai developed comment and discussion on Water Margin. Applying the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, they criticized in depth revisionism, capitulationism and capitulationists, enabling all to increase further their ability to identify revisionism, capitulationism and capitulationists, strengthen

their consciousness in firmly maintaining the socialist road and continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and resolve to pursue to the end the struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the upsurge of study of theory and comment on Water Margin, the 1975 national conference on learning from Tachai in agriculture was held. At this conference the Party Central Committee once more summed up the experience of Tachai in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and issued a great call, "Let the whole Party be mobilized for agriculture in a big way and fight to universalize Tachai hsien!" The holding of this conference greatly inspired the fighting morale of the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai. They have put forward the heroic slogan: "Criticize again in a big way, work again in a big way, make new contributions again" and, holding high the red banner of Tachai, are marching forward courageously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

New Tachai Goes Forward in Prosperity

Since 1953, in particular since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius campaign, cataclysmic changes have taken place in Tachai under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Standing high on top of Tiger's Head Mountain and looking down on Tachai today, one sees "Nightingales singing and swallows dancing everywhere, and there is also a murmuring stream," a picture of thriving socialism.

The people of Tachai are new. The production brigade now consists of 83 families of more than 450, with 160 or more male and female whole or part labor power units. Since the past more than 20 years the people of Tachai, nurtured by the sunlight and raindrops of the thought of Mao Tsetung and led and educated by the Party branch, have undergone profound changes in their spiritual make-up. The selfishness, narrow-mindedness, conservatism, backwardness, and feudal superstitious ideas of the past are basically wiped out. They are basically replaced by a spiritual state of wholehearted dedication to public interests, love for the collective, striving for progress, attention to science, and daring in struggle and initiative. The people of Tachai bear in mind their motherland but their eyes range over the whole world. Impassioned and in high morale, they till the fields with a red heart for the revolution. Always firmly taking class struggle as the key link, the people of Tachai firmly uphold the Party's basic line, the principle of putting politics in command and letting thought take the lead. They persevere in continuing to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, remolding their world outlook with Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought, and walking the socialist road. They are vanguards firmly maintaining class struggle and line struggle, as well as heroes who dare to fight heaven and earth to reform nature. They develop the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fighting amid hardship. With their own industrious hands they have painted a magnificent picture of

a socialist new village. They have become a new type of socialist peasants.

The mountain of Tachai is new. Tiger's Head Mountain in the past was a bald, neglected mountain. There was no cover, so that when it rained heavily the mountain torrents would rush down and carry away the thin soil on the slopes, exposing jagged rocks and presenting a picture of dreariness. For the past more than 20 years, Tiger's Head Mountain has "changed its old appearance into a new one." Pines and fruit trees now grow all over it, on the slopes and in the gullies. In summer and autumn the multitude of flowers and fruits scent and color the mountain with fragrance and warmth. The bald mountain assumes a green mantle. The impoverished gullies become an orchard.

The water of Tachai is new. In the past Tachai was dry. In a dry season it was hard to get even drinking water for man and beast, let alone water for irrigating the fields. Since the past more than 20 years many irrigation and conservation projects have been built, basically changing the arid character of the land. By building irrigation works at high places, opening canals, and building reservoirs, they conduct water to Tiger's Head Mountain from Kuo-chuang Reservoir more than 10 li away. Now two winding canals go through hills and fly over gullies. Clear water flows murmuring along them. The aqueduct across Unity Valley is magnificent in appearance. It is supported by nine tall piers. There are three large circular reservoirs filled with blue water. Pumping machines rumble while jets of clear water gush from the pipes, turning over 400 mow of dry land into watered fields. Water taps are installed in the street, so commune members may obtain drinking water there. The days when they had to fetch water from another village in droughty weather are gone for good.

Tachai's land is new. In the past Tachai's land was divided into small plots with thin topsoil and low yield. "The mountain is tall and dotted with numerous rocks. As soon as one goes out of doors one has to climb a slope, because there is no more than 3 mow of level land. Calamities are frequent every year." This is a true picture of the natural features of Tachai. In those days the 800 mow was divided into more than 4,000 plots scattered all over a slope with seven gullies and eight ridges. Some of the plots were high on the mountain, and some below it. They were really unconnected small pieces. Now all the seven gullies are filled up, so that they become good fields. Banks of green stone protect plots of fertile "man-made plains." The eight ridges are also repeatedly leveled, so that they too become good fields. Rows of stone stakes protect the level "spongy fields." The slope too has been worked on many times. Lines of earth walls are built by the fields to protect the tiers of terraced fields. Every plot in the 846 mow of the brigade is now a steady and high-yield field producing 1,000 catties per mow.

Tachai's farm implements are new. Farm implements used in the past were basically the same old-type plows, toothless rakes, hoes and

spades that had been used by many generations of farmers. After gradual improvement for more than 20 years, mechanization is basically realized from work in the field to jobs in the yard, from short and long-distance transportation to processing of rice and flour. New-style machines have replaced old, clumsy implements. Five elevated transportation cables converge on Tiger's Head Mountain from all directions. Buckets suspending from the cables glide up and down alternately. In the fields and on the road trucks and tractors come and go. On the threshing grounds and processing factories, machines rumble and electric motors sing.

The farming system of Tachai is also new. The farming system used in the past was also the old methods handed down from one generation to another for hundreds of years. Since the past more than 20 years the people of Tachai, applying Chairman Mao's "8-character charter for agriculture" with modifications according to local conditions, have carried out a series of reforms on the old farming system. On Tiger's Head Mountain they made scientific experiments and carried out scientific farming in a big way, creating many "new methods." They have successfully trial planted paddy and cotton on Tiger's Head Mountain over 1,000 meters above sea level. They have also created the record of producing over 1,000 catties of rice and over 100 catties of ginned cotton per mow, pioneering a new road of scientific farming.

The village of Tachai is new. Old Tachai of the past was a ramshackle place. Most families lived in native caves, which were "dark, dank and stuffy, and mosquitoes, flies, bugs and fleas were everywhere." Today there are more than 260 new caves lined with green stone and more than 530 houses with red steel tiles. The green-stone caves are below and the steel tile houses are above. They are neat, of pleasing appearance, spacious and well-lit. Electric lights and broadcast loudspeakers are installed in every dwelling. The wide asphalt-paved roads are lined with trees. In the village there are a supply and marketing cooperative, a credit cooperative, a post and telegraph office, and a 9-year school which universalizes high school education. The village has also established a nursery, a kindergarten and a health clinic which trains barefoot doctors. A system of cooperative medical care has been put into effect, and cultural activities are widely developed. A political night school, as well as a cultural room and a library, have been established. It has organized a literary and art propaganda team, a spare-time table tennis team and a martial arts team. Everywhere there is a scene of prosperity.

Tachai's grain output is high. In the past the per-mow output was only 80-90 catties, and total output was only 70,000-80,000 catties. For more than 20 years after cooperativization, grain output has risen steeply, with per-mow output increasing to an average extent of over 50 catties every year. Tachai crossed "Huang Ho" in 1958, and again crossed the "Yangtze" in 1964. In 1970 per-mow output of grain broke the "1,000-catty barrier." In 1974 total grain output reached 770,000 catties, an increase of 9 times compared with pre-cooperative output.

Having developed a communist style of love for the country and the collective, the people of Tachai are making ever greater contributions to the state. From 1955 through 1958 they sold an average of 105,000 catties of surplus grain a year to the state. From 1959 through 1970 they sold an average of 245,000 catties a year, and from 1971 through 1974 they sold an average of 330,000 catties a year. That means that in recent years each household could sell an average of over 4,000 catties of surplus grain a year to the state. Of particular significance is the fact that in 1972, a year of severe drought, Tachai sold 400,000 catties of grain to the state, averaging nearly 5,000 catties per household, adding bricks and tiles to the socialist revolution and construction of the motherland.

Following the development of production, Tachai's collective economy grows steadily. Total income of the brigade, which was over ¥17,000 in 1953 when the cooperative was first founded, rose to over ¥194,000 in 1974, an increase of over 10 times. Public accumulation was only ¥800 in 1955, but after 1973 public accumulation increased to over ¥47,400 a year, or three times the total income of 1955 and 60 times the public accumulation of the same year. Owing to the rapid increase of public accumulation, collective assets have become increasingly great. In the past it was "seven head of cattle, eight mules and one pig, with 100 sheep grazing on the hills." Now there are over 400 head of animals of all kinds, of which over 80 are large animals, averaging one head per household. Live pigs in pen number over 200, averaging over two per household. The increasing assets greatly increase the ability to expand re-production and quicken the pace of agricultural mechanization.

Following the development of production and growth of the collective economy, the income of commune members increases steadily and the standard of living also rises continually. The per capita average income from distribution was ¥60 in 1955, when Tachai was still a primary cooperative. In 1974 it was ¥176, an increase by 1.7 times. When the cooperative was first formed, a man-day's value in work points was 30 fen. Since 1967 this has been maintained at ¥1.50, an increase by 4 times. A commune member reports the food grain he needs, which is then set after public discussion. Each person gets an average of over 500 catties. There is no debtor household or relief household in Tachai now. The great majority of commune members have surplus grain in their homes and savings in the credit cooperative. Everyone lives a life of plenty.

After more than 20 years of struggle, in particular after the great proletarian cultural revolution and criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius campaign, Tachai has won a great victory in socialist revolution and construction. But the people of Tachai realize deeply that it is necessary to see not only the victory after struggle, but more important still, the struggle after victory. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Never forget classes and class struggle." "Throughout the period of transition there are class contradictions, class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. To forget this basic theory and basic practice of our Party for

the past more than ten years is to walk the wrong road." Struggle in the way of progress will still be acute, complex and full of twists and turns. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the heroic people of Tachai, in the revolutionary spirit of "willing to climb high" and the heroic manner of "clasping the moon in the 9th Neaven and seizing turtles down in the Five Seas," are continuing to grasp firmly class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line, and ceaselessly scale new heights in opposing and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and developing socialist agriculture.

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